

The Whole
L I F E
O F
Mr. WILLIAM FULLER;
BEING AN
Impartial ACCOUNT
O F H I S
Birth, Education, Relations,
A N D
INTRODUCTION
Into the service of the
Late King *JAMES* and his Queen.

TOGETHER

With a **True Discovery** of the Intrigues for which he lies now confin'd; as also, of the Persons that Employ'd and Assisted him therein; with his hearty Repentance for the Misdemeanors he did in the late Reign, and all others whom he hath injur'd.

Impartially writ, by Himself, during his Confinement in the Queen's-Bench.

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THE
PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

I suppose you may have formerly heard of a short Narrative of mine, Intituled, as this, *My Life*, and consequently you may expect to find only the same things over again; but I assure you, That

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my Ends in writing this present Narrative, are plainly and impartially to tell the World, how I came to endeavour to impose on both Houses of Parliament, how it was that I deceived the World; all which, neither Parliaments, nor any other Power, could extort from me, until now that I plainly see my own Folly, the Villany of those that impos'd upon me, and artfully led me into the Snare; so that I must justify those who Censur'd me, and say, my Punishment was due for my Stupidity.

*I resolve to do right to all Mankind as much as in me lies, which is another Motive for my Publish-
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ing this Narrative, that I may retract what was formerly amiss, and make all the satisfaction I can to those I have injur'd; and this will appear in the sequel.

I have given you a true account of my Birth, Parentage, Education, and in short, of the most material Transactions of my Life; you will find strange Adventures, and abundance of different Stations and Conditions that I have been in.

I have trac'd my own good and bad Footsteps, and have as closely stuck to Jack Tutchin's and his Companions Heels, as they did to me; when for almost ten Years together, I was made their Property, with

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with Shame I may speak it; and could I but recal one Opportunity back, I would undeceive that Parliament they caused me to abuse, and shew truly who were the Impostors. I hope this Narrative will be so plain, as to convince every ingenious Man's understanding of the Truth; but thrice happy had I been if I had done it before I suffered, there being then an opportunity for such a manifestation of all I now say, that it would have been left most unquestionable. I am not for creating new Disputes, nor for giving any trouble to others. I shall modestly lay the Saddle upon the right Horse, and never put my Foot in the
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the Stirrup, nor offer to mount thereon.

I am the more full in this Narrative, by reason I intend never to write again. I know the Truths contained here will stand against every Assault, and my Enemies cannot invent more horrid Lies of me than they have already done. I pray God rebuke and forgive them. As for serving the Publick, I expect no more an opportunity; tho' were I free, I would freely venture my Life to do the present Queen any Service; for God knows I owe all imaginable Duty to her Majesty, and in my Conscience I think her Title the best to the Crown

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Crown of these Realms, and pray that she may long and peaceably enjoy it.

Whatever Men say, I am of no Party, but a constant well wisher of the Prosperity of the Church of England, and the good of my Country; and I hope, kind Reader, you will put as fair a Construction on what you find in the following sheets as I desire to be plain and undeceive those who being curious have been misled, concerning my Actions and proceedings. I am to every true Man a hearty Well-wisher.

August 2. 1703.

William Fuller.

THE

THE WHOLE LIFE

Will. Fuller.

BY reason of the various false Reports concerning my Parents, I shall begin with an Account of their Descent, viz. My Father's Name was *Robert Fuller*, the second Son of *Dr. Thomas Fuller*, and was born in *Oxford*, in the Year 1634, and in the Time of the civil Wars: He had his abode with his Mother's Brother, *James Harfler, Gent. of Ashe*, in the County of *Kent*; where my Father was instructed in the Buying and Selling of Cattle, and had an Estate of about Two hundred Pounds *per Annum*, left him by his said Uncle; after whose decease, he lived some time in *London*, where my Mother fell in love with him, and without the knowledge of any of her Relations or Friends, was married to him.

... von ...

She was the Daughter of the Honourable *Charles Herbert*, Esq; of *Montgomeryshire* in *Wales*, and Cousin-German to the late Marquis of *Powis*: Her Father, at the time of her Birth, had an Estate of more than Two thousand Pounds *per Annum*, which fell, by Inheritance, to my Uncle, *Charles Herbert*, Esq; my Mother's only Brother; altho' the Family suffered great Persecutions in *Oliver* the Protector's time, being all of them *Roman Catholics*, and faithful in their Duty and Allegiance to the King, and Royal Family. It was during this time of their Misfortunes, that my Mother was married to my Father. She was a Widow, having been married only fourteen Months, to a Gentleman of her own Name and Family; by whom she had one Daughter, who is now living, and enjoys the whole Estate, (as I shall hereafter more fully shew) with the Cause that induced my Uncle to disinherite me.

During the Misfortunes of both my Parents Families; they stay'd in *London* until the happy Restoration of King *Charles* the II^d. when the full and quiet Possession of their Fathers Fortunes was restored to them, and theirs, thereby, augmented: Upon which, they fixt their constant abode at *Milton*, next *Sittingborn*, in *Kent*, where I was unfortunately Born, on the 20th Day of *September*, in the Year 1670.

My Father employ'd himself in Grazering, and had a pretty Estate of his own, and kept constantly a great Stock of Cattle, insomuch, that in the *Dutch Wars*, he supplied that Fleet and Navy, to the value of Eighteen thousand Pounds, of which Sum, there is more than Eight thousand due to this Day. But my Father died soon after this, and four Months after, I was born, and left for my Guardian, *Mr. Cornelius Harstet*, a Gentleman of *Kent*, who had an Estate of above 500 *l.* a Year, and pretended a great Regard to our Family, tho' he has been the Author of all my Misfortunes, (I mean publick ones) as will appear from the sequel of this Relation.

My Mother, after being two Years a Widow, married a third time to one *Mr. Tho. Packman*, a Yeoman of *Kent*, a Man that lived in considerable Reputation and Esteem in that Country. But I was kept at board from my Infancy, and

and had my Learning at *Canterbury*, some time, and afterwards removed to *Maidstone*, where I was instructed in all Learning, that my Age render'd me capable of, tho' in the *Latin* I was but an indifferent Proficient, for that Study was not agreeable to me. I took much delight in learning Arithmetick, Merchants Accounts, and Navigation; in the Knowledge of these, I may modestly say, that hardly any Youth was better instructed than I was at 14 Years of Age: And I took also much delight in Dancing, Fencing, and such like Exercises, especially where the Ladies were, of whom I was a great Admirer, and had, generally the good Fortune to be beloved. I was never much addicted to play with Boys, especially any younger than my self; I scorned their common Sports, and had always an aspiring Mind, to be conversant with grave aged Persons, and those above me. I was very famous in *Kent*, for my Dancing, and Playing on some Instruments of Musick, insomuch, that I was always courted at all Balls, and Weddings, where People of Quality and Fashion were; nor did my Relations narrowly confine my Humour; for as soon as I was ten Years old, I had a Horse kept near the Boarding School, on purpose for my use; and my Uncle *Herbert*, (whose Darling I then was) supplied my Pocket, with more Money than I had either occasion for, or Judgment to dispencc with.

When I was about 12 Years of Age, my Mother was also taken from me, and I left to the Care (by her Direction) of my Uncle *Herbert*, and my Father-in-law, to whom my Mother, on her Death-bed, gave a particular charge of me, I being her only Son, and the Darling of her Soul: I cannot here omit to make an Observation of a strange Prediction, that my Mother made just as she left the World, speaking to her Relations in this wise: *That above all, she besought them, for the Blessed Jesus's sake, and as they would answer the contrary at the great and last Day, that they never suffered Mr. Harflet, the Guardian appointed by my Father, at his death, to have any thing to do with me, but that rather, all that he had of mine, should be lost, than he have any power to dispose of me; for she had long observed his base Disposition; and sure she was, that if ever I came*

into his Power, he would bring me to Shame, and utter Ruin. This my dear Mother repeated several times, and foretold, what has come to pass, altho' all that time, any one living, could not imagine to have seen it.

My Mother being dead, I was continued at *Maidstone-School* about 17 Months after. Then my Uncle being in *Wales*, my Father-in-law took me home, for a Season, to his House, intending to deliver me up wholly, to my Uncle, the Summer following, at which time I was of age to chuse a Guardian for my self. And here I was treated, for some Weeks, very tenderly; but the natural Disposition of my Father-in-law, was Morose and Churlish, and he began to use me very indifferently, which my Mind could not brook. At this time, I well remember, that a Gentlewoman lent me a Book to read, which was *Dangerfield's Rambles*: I read it over 8 times; and one Evening, as I was walking in the Garden, a Thought came into my Mind, that I should have almost the same Fate that that Man had: This perplexed me much, and sure I am, it has come into my Mind Ten thousand times since; a strange Omen, I could not forbear to mention it. I come now to shew the beginning of my Sorrows, and so shall trace them down to the present Day of my Life.

Mr. *Harflet* was now in danger of being called to an Account for a very large Sum of Money, that he had in his Hands 14 Years; therefore, by all means, he endeavours to get me from my Father-in-law, and to *London*, where he could so place me, that with ease he might force me to chuse him for my Guardian: And to this purpose he employs his Nephew, Major *Thomas Kitchel*, who lived at *Milton*, to endeavour to perswade me, privately, to leave my Father-in-law, and to come to him; and in this, Mr. *Kitchel* was no Loiterer, for he plied me warmly, by fair Promises of what mighty things his Uncle designed for me, and how happy I should be if I would go to him. On the other hand, my Father's unkindness gave me no small Aversion, and I durst not write to my Uncle to complain: And my Father-in-law having one Day beat me without any reason, only to gratify a Daughter of his own, I resolved to leave him, and went and told my Resolutions

solutions to Mr. *Kitchel*, Who received me gladly, and most fortunately, as I then thought it. My Father went the Week following to *London*, so I packt up my Awls, my Woollen and Linnen, and one *Friday* Night, when my Father was expected back, the Day following, I was put on board a Hoy, well accommodated with Provision, and on *Sunday* I was landed in *London*, and met by *Harflet*, at the Bear, near *Bear-Keys*, from which Place he conveyed me to Mr. *James Hartley's*, a Skinner in *Shoe-lane*, who was a drunken Fellow, and was got largely in *Harflet's* Debt, so that he could keep me here as privately as he pleased; but I know not what Apprehensions he had, for in a few Days, I suppose, not thinking himself so secure of me, by reason I had many Relations in Town, tho' I did not know where to find them, yet, per-chance, they might see me, and then his Purposes were all frustrated; for these, or such like Reasons, he removes me to one Captain *Bayly's* at *Stepny*, telling me, he was an *East-India* Captain, and that as I had learnt Navigation, and delighted to be on the Waters, so he designed, by putting me there, to advance my Fortune, and that going to Sea was the readiest way to Preferment in the World. This Captain *Bayly* had a fine House, and lived very great, so I was indifferently well pleased; only that I eat with the Servants, which I could hardly brook; however, I did not continue long there, for the Ladies having observed my Carriage, and narrowly examined me, did perceive that I was an Orphan, and betrayed, so that in Conscience, they told the Captain, he could not be an Instrument in such a base Action; and therefore they gave the Captain no rest, until he had quitted himself of the matter. But *Harflet* was very uneasy, and would not let me come to Town, so that I was then removed to one Dr. *Nicholas* in *Stepny*, and to be instructed in Physick: There I was about 3 Weeks more, and might have stayed, if I had been easie, but I did not love the smell of Physick, and I going every Day to see Captain *Bayly*, and the Ladies, they made me very free with them; and they continually upbraided Mr. *Harflet*; and having told them more than he desired I should, he thought they would find out means to let my Mother's Brother

ther know where I was, and to prevent it, I was carried back to *Hartly's*, in *Shoe-lane*, and kept strictly within Doors, and in a few Days, *Hartlet* told me, I must either consent to be bound an Apprentice to *Hartly*, or, he swore, he would send me back to my Father, which I dreaded extremely, by reason I knew his Temper, and how I had left him; so by these Menaces, and fair Promises, I was bound at *Skinner's-Hall*; and tho' they did magnify the great Advantage and Reputation of the Trade, yet I liked it not, nor to be Company for a parcel of silly unpolished Fellows and Wenches; Pulling and Cutting of Bever, and Conny-skins. I was very uneasy at this, but knew not how to help my self; besides, they forced me to go to Church, though I was bred a *Roman Catholick*, (I wish that had been my only grievance) tho' then I thought it a grievous one. My great Comfort here, was from *Hartly's* Mother, who was as kind and tender of me, as of her own Child; and the good old Woman would weep, and say frequently, *This Rogue, Hartlet, and the Rascal my Son, have betrayed this poor Child.* After I had been there two or three Months, I found the way to *Sommerset house*, and went secretly to hear Mass at the Chappel. I bought me some Prayer Books, and Pictures, which I kept lockt up in my Trunk; but every Night when I lay alone, I used to set my Crucifix and Pictures in great order, upon a Table, leaning against the Wall, and I always kept a clean Cloth to cover the Table. Then I had always two Candles in little pretty Candlesticks that I had prepared for that purpose, which I lighted, and having set every thing in order, I used to pray for about an Hour, and then lay all things decently up, and so go to my Bed. To shew how zealous I was in that way, I shall relate a pleasant Passage: One *Easter-day*, Mr. *Hartly* would have me go to Church at *St. Andrews Holborn*, but I would not, so I was left at home by my self in the Afternoon, and I resolved not to omit my Duty, as I thought, but gets a Curtain, and hangs it up in the Window, by reason the next Door was an Ale-house, and from a Drinking-room in the Yard, they could see into our House; but having prevented that, I set up
my

my Crucifix, fetch'd down all my Pictures, and light up six Candles; but in the height of my Devotion, my Master being with Company at the next Door, espied the Curtains being hung up, and wondering what I was doing, they came to the Door, and knockt; I presently put out my Candles, and in a mighty hurry, put by my Things; they knockt again, and again, but I was busy, and made them wait until all was put out of their way, then I let them in; but by no means could they ever learn what I was doing; and afterwards I was more cautious in those matters, my Master, and his Gang, amongst whom was Mr. Roger Knowles, (Junior) a Surgeon, though he much worse practised, for they would be drunk every Night at the Tavern, and I must go to call them; then did they force me to drink, and when Money was wanting, I was sent to perswade the old Woman to supply them, and I had so learnt the Art by their Instructions, that I seldom returned empty: But my good Master had like to spoil all my Reputation with his Mother at once, for he having been drinking a Night, and 2 Days, at the Horn in Fleet-street, and the Reckoning coming to 7 or 8 l. they sent a Porter for me, as if he came from Westminster; I went, and found my Master, and his Company, very drunk; they told me I must get them Money from his Mother, and therefore tell her he was in the Gatehouse, being arrested for Debt; they knew the old Woman would not go to a Prison, therefore thought I might the more easily perform their purpose, but they had like to have been disappointed; for making me almost drunk when I came home, the Mother perceived I had been drinking, and believed her Son was rather at a Tavern than a Goal; however, I remembered, I was bound to be a faithful Servant, and to keep my Master's Secrets, so I stood it out; but the old Woman would not send the Money by me alone, she fancying there was some Trick at the bottom, so she sent an old Maid, her Confident, with me; I knew her to be a sour Jade, and that she hated my Master, so I was contriving, as I went along Shot-lane, how to get the Money from her; and remembering she lov'd burnt Claret dearly, I told her, we must

call at the Horn Tavern in Fleet street, and stay for a Friend
of Mr. Knowl's. So in I went, called for a Room, and a
Pint of burnt Wine. I made her drink most of it; then
had half a Pint of Sack, which turn'd her to my purpose,
for she began to Stammer and Reel, so I prevailed with
her to let me put the Mohey in my Pocket, and told her
we would go to Westminster by Water; then pretending
to go out to ease Nature, I stept up Stairs to my Master;
delivered the Mohey to him; then told them how I had
got it; so down I went to my stale Maid, and was soon
followed by my Master, who owned this having the
Money; then made her very drunk, in such a way, that when
she came back, she could barely make a shite to say, *Gods
Son is very well; but Will is a Knave, and gave him the
Money.* I told my Mistress the whole Matter, so that she
beat her Confident, was angry with me, and most out-
ragious at her Son. Many such Pranks I was put upon
during the time I was there, which was not a whole Year;
for as I was going one Day along Fleet street, I was met
by Sir John Burrows, Baronet, a Relation of my Mother;
and a Roman Catholick. This Gentleman was over joy'd
to meet me, and taking me into a Tavern, inform'd himself
of all that had happen'd unto me since my leaving my
Father-in-law. He took me to his Lodgings, and from
thence to my Lord Poultis, at his House in Lincoln's Inn
Fields; and his Lordship loving me for his Relation,
ordered me to come frequently thither; and gave particu-
lar Directions to Father Lewis Sabran, a Jesuit, and his Chap-
lain, for to be very mindful of me, and to visit me;
and I was to come to him, until such time my Lord
had writ to my Uncle, and used proper means to take
me from my Guardian Harst, and from my special
Master Hartly, which was not long first; for the latter
had ruin'd his Mother by his extravagant Course of Life;
and so with her Son and Family, removed into Salisbury
Court, then a Place of Refuge; and here they were in
Lodgings. And now all my Relations knew how that
Harst had betray'd me, and where I was; so that even
my Father-in-law came up to Town to see me, and sent
me very handsome Presents of Money, and other Goods
and
series.

faries. I had many People of Fashion came to see me in this short time; and my Master refused to let me go to my Lord Powis, hoping to have obtained a sum of Money of my Relations for my Freedom from him; but a Surety of Law was begun on my Account, betwixt my Uncle and Mr. Harstet; and my Master was soon let know, that he had not power to detain me. I was also frequently visited by Father Sabran, and Father Emanuel, who belonged to the Spanish Embassador; and these good Men were very zealous to get me from the Tuition of Protestants. And accordingly, *Hartly*, with a seeming willingness, let me go to dwell at my Lord Powis's, about the latter end of May 1688: And Father Sabran being my Tutor, he was ordered to attend my Lady Marchioness of Powis, at St. James's, where her Ladyship had Lodgings, next to those of the pretended Prince of Wales. I was removed thither also with the Family, and served a little while as Page to my Lady Powis, who was made Governess to the pretended Prince, when born, June the 10th. And at this time it was, that I observed what I have published to the World, with relation to Mrs. Grey's Lying-in at that time, within the said Marchioness's Lodgings, but that I have published already at large, and have done with the Subject, for which I have paid so dearly, and Mom for that, &c. I did go to Dover with Mrs. Grey, and at my return, was asked by my Lord Powis, if I would be contented to go for a short time, into the Earl of Melfort's Family, by reason Father Sabran was obliged to attend continually on the Prince, and to Preach on *Thursdays* at *Whitehall*, and on *Sundays* at *Lincoln's Inn*, therefore had not time to improve me in my Books, as my Lord intended; and my Lord Melfort had in his Family one Father Maxwell, a Jesuit, a good Man, he was Tutor to my Lord Forth, the Earl's eldest Son; and under him, my Lord Powis thought I might be instructed, therefore desired I might be Page to the Countess of Melfort, until I was fitting for some other Employ, either at Court, or till I should be sent to *St. Omers* to be Educated, and afterwards receive Orders, for it was resolved that I must be either a Courtier

or a Priest. So to my Lord *Melfore's* I went, and was clothed most richly, had a Footman to wait on me, and lived as great (save only when I bare the Countess's Train,) as if I had been my Lord's Son: My chief Business, was to go every Morning with a Compliment from my Lady, to the Lady in waiting on the Queen, to know how her Majesty did, and then to my Lady Governess, to know how the Prince did; the rest of my time was spent at my Book, &c.

In this Noble Family I was very happy, as I was in my Lord *Powis's*; for as they lived in the greatest Splendor imaginable, so did their Virtue shine most bright by their Noble and Modest Examples; for in those great Families, no Swearing nor Baseness was to be heard; nor Drunkenness, nor other Vices to be seen, all the Servants were kept strictly every Day to a Religious Exercise, and it were well if all Protestants did the same. Soon after I was there, the Court went for *Windsor*, as I remember it was the 23d of *July*, and at the same time the Prince went to *Richmond*. The Day after, being *St. James's Day*, the King and Court came back to *Hounslow-Heath*, where Mass was sung with great Solemnity, at his Majesty's Chappel in the Camp, where a great Dinner was provided, and in the Afternoon the King viewed the Army. I was mightily charmed with the Pleasure and Grandeur of the Court, and these fine Shows; little, alas! imagining what Disquiets harboured in the Breast of those, who then seemed above the malice of Fate: I thought Greatness was the best Establishment, and that in Courts only, pure Content was to be had: But before six Months were past, have I seen that great King and Queen in Tears, and in nine Months, how was their Splendor eclips'd? The Court was easie and pleasant a few Weeks at *Windsor*, but of a sudden, my Lady *Powis* sent an Express to the King, that the Prince was taken very ill; within two Hours after comes a second Letter from that Lady to his Majesty, desiring him to hasten his Journey to *Richmond*, for the pretended Prince was at the Point of Death: I was then at the Queen's Back-Stairs, and heard my Lady *Melfore* relate this as she came

came out from the King and Queen, and withal, adding, that the Queen seeing the King's Countenance change upon opening the Letter, and desiring him to let her see it, which his Majesty refused, (as it seems my Lady *Powis* had desired) the Queen snatch'd it out of the King's Hands, and at the reading fell into a Fit. I saw their Majesties take Coach in a few Minutes after ; but never did I see a more dismal Scene of Sorrow, than appeared on that occasion, in every Face that I observed. Upon the King's arrival at *Richmond*, before their Majesties entered the Palace, some said the Prince was dead, and others said not ; And I met Father *Sabran*, who told me, that he much feared the Prince would not live. But after he had received the Tile-maker's Wives Breast, being the last Remedy the Doctors prescribed, the Face of the Court was much altered ; and the Queen stayed there several Days ; and in a little time, the young Gentleman was removed to *Windsor*, and had his Apartment in the House which was formerly *Madam Gwins*, and there I spent most of my time. My Uncle came from his Seat in *Wales*, to wait on the King, and was introduced by my Lord Marquis of *Powis* ; afterwards he paid his Respects to my Lord *Melfort*, and was much pleased with my Usage there, and assured those Lords, that he would contribute all that in him lay to advance my Fortune, as opportunity offered, and that he shou'd leave me his Estate when he died, and made his Will, and did whatever my Lord *Powis* required of him for my Advantage. I had the good Fortune, during my being at *Windsor*, to be observed by the Queen, especially as I was at my Devotion in the Chappel, insomuch, that her Majesty was pleased, one Morning, to ask who I was, and to whom I belonged, to which, my Lady *Sophia Buckley*, then in waiting, (as her Ladyship, the same Day, told my Lady *Melfort*, when I was present) replied to the Queen, that I was my Lady *Melfort*'s Page, and that she had heard my Lady say, I was a Gentleman's Son, and a Kinsman of my Lord *Powis*'s. Then her Majesty was pleased to tell her, she had observed me to be very devout at the Chappel, and took notice, that she hardly ever saw me
turn

turn my Back to the Altar, or look about me. And about three Days after this, the Queen was standing with her Royal Highness, the then Princess of Denmark, now our Sovereign Lady the Queen, (who that Day came to *Windsor*) at a Window looking into the great Court, and as my Lord *Forth* and I were going by, the Queen called out, and asked him, *My Lord, are you going to School?* His Lordship was very young, and did not know the Queen's Voice, nor did he see her Majesty, until I told him who spake to him, and where her Majesty was; and the Queen seeing him a little dash, askt me if he was going to School? Then I answered her Majesty, That he was going to walk on the *Tarris*: She wish'd us well. And that Evening the Queen was pleas'd to tell my Lord *Melfort*, That she saw his Son that Afternoon; then asked how long I had served his Lady, to which, my Lord replied, That I was a Relation, by my Mother, to my Lord *Powis*; upon which, the Queen was so good, as of her own Royal Bounty, to tell my Lord *Powis*, That she was extremely taken with the modest Behaviour of my Lady *Melfort's* Page, and since he had so near a Relation to his Lordship, she would gladly receive him into her Service, as soon as she had any fitting Employ; and this being communicated to me that Night, I was not a little proud of the Honour done me. At my first carrying my Lady's Train, I committed an odd Mistake, for not knowing when to set down the Train, I carried it into the Queen's Drawing Room, where there was much Company, and my Lady not seeing me, I stood behind her with it in my Hand, which the Dutchess of *Richmond* seeing, gave me a pull by the Sleeve, saying, *Let it down, and go out*: Then I perceived my Error, and blush'd, inso much that many of the Ladies laugh'd heartily, at me; by which means my Lady *Melfort* came to know it, for she protest'd, she did not know but that I had let it down; however, the Fault was the more to be pardon'd, by reason the Queen was not present; for no Person is to have their Train both in a Queen's Presence. This Fault was soon forgot by the Ladies, but not by my self.

self. I had, indeed, all imaginable Encouragement, and was highly favoured, having a prospect of much Happiness from that Court, had not the Scene altered. But upon the News of the Prince of *Orange's* Preparations, the Court grew very uneasy, especially those Families to which I belonged: And on a sudden, the Court removed from *Windsor* to *Whitehall*, a Month sooner than was a little while before designed. I had the opportunity afforded me of going to *Chatam*, when the King went down in Person, to order the fitting out of Ships; and I had the Fortune to hear all the good and bad News, and thereby did I see how uncertain all Estates and Conditions are! It is almost incredible to think what effects those Advices had on the Spirits of those great Men, and how strangely they were mistaken, as to their Judgment of the Disposition of the People of *England* at that time, I cannot better demonstrate, than by the following Observation: There was, at this time, one *Sir Robert Hamilton*, with whom my Lord *Melfort* had formerly been at variance; but *Sir Robert* being a wise Man, and a Protestant, my Lord sought, no doubt for State Reasons, his Friendship, and they were perfectly reconciled, some time before the Prince of *Orange* landed; and one Day, just before the King went for *Salisbury*, *Sir Robert* comes to my Lord's House, but the King having sent early for my Lord, in his absence, *Sir Robert* desired to speak with my Lady, and accordingly he was admitted into her Chamber, where, amongst other things, he said, *Madam, pray tell my Lord, that if one half of the Kingdom does but stand true to the King, his Majesty is safe, but I much question that.* This put the Countess into a great surprize; and she replied, that she could not think one quarter would desert his Majesty; but *Sir Robert* gave her Reasons that mightily disturbed her, and she soon altered her Opinion. When my Lord came home, I had an itching Ear to hear what he would say, and being in the next Room, I heard them plainly enough; for it was in those Days, and is still a great oversight in great Persons, to talk so loud, of their most weighty Concerns, that their Servants know them as well as themselves;

selves ; for often I have seen a Door-keeper, and such like Fellows, crouding up to the Secretary of State's Chamber-doors, and there leaning, no doubt, with a Design to hear what they can ; and their Lords and Masters do not indeed see them, nor, possibly think them so dishonest : But this is a Digression. My Lady having told my Lord Melfort, that a certain Person, a Friend of his, and a wise Man, had told her his Opinion, as before. My Lord said, *Certainly he was a mad Man, or a Fool, to think half the Nation wou'd leave the King :* Upon which, she named the Author ; and his Lordship went immediately to the King, I suppose, by what he said, to give the King notice of the same : However it were, Sir Robert was immediately made one of the Commissioners of the Customs. After this, the King going for Salisbury, my Lord attended him thither ; here again I beheld a dismal Scene of Sorrow, at his Majesty's departure from the Queen, and Whitehall. My Lady was big with Child, and left in much Sorrow at her Lord's Departure, inasmuch, that the Night before, weeping, she said, *How happy did we think our selves, when the Prince was born ; but now, wou'd to God that Blessing had never been given, which is the Cause of so much Sorrow to the good King and Queen, and all about them.* I must needs say, That Heaven was continually invoked for several Weeks together, both Day and Night, for the King and Queen ; and all Degrees of People, I mean Roman Catholicks, were filling the Chappels every Night until Midnight, the Sacrament being exposed on that account ; but Heaven's Decrees who shall withstand ? The young Spark, with my Lady Powis, was carried to Windsor, where the King lay the same Night, and the next Morning parted with his pretended Son ; his Majesty going for Salisbury, and the Child for Portsmouth. I went as far as Salisbury, but was sent back Post, with Letters to Whitehall, whither my Lady was removed from their House in Arundel-street, to my Lord's new House in the Privy-Garden, which was not quite finished, but the Family was but small, and much more secure in Whitehall than at the other Place. Soon after my coming back, I was raised

one

one Morning, by the House-keeper, to come immediately to my Lady, who had just receiv'd a Packet from my Lord, with Letters for the Queen. I was ordered to go to the Queen's Back-Stairs immediately, to carry her Majesty's Letters, and also my Lady's, which she sent open, ordering me to desire the Bed-Chamber-Woman, in waiting, to deliver that also to the Queen. I saw, to my unspeakable Grief, that there was unwelcome News, and sorry I was to bear any such to the Queen. I did not read the open Letter, tho' I had an opportunity. It was before break of Day, and in two Hours after, every one knew the Contents. It was that very Morning the King came back to *Whitehall*, and what happened the Day before, and that Night, is no secret. And upon the *Sunday* following, I was sent in great hast from my Lord, to *Sir Edward Hayles*, Governour of the *Tower*; I hurried in a Coach, and coming back, I was sent to the late Earl of *Peterborough*; and whatever the Contents of my Letter was, his Lordship was in a sweat at the perusal. When I came home, my Lady ordered me to dress my self very fine, and cause the Footmen to put on their laced Liveries, which for some time had lain by; then to Court she went in a very rich new Chair, it being on a *Sunday*; there was a great Court. I was ordered to go to the Queen's Back-Stairs, and stay above, which I did, and my Lord and Lady both came out that way, with Tears in their Eyes, and went into their Chairs, and so home; then all the Servants were sent abroad on sleeveless Errands. I was ordered to put on my plain Cloaths, and a great Coat, which I had no sooner done, but I was called in to take my Lady's strong Box, at which, and seeing them disguiz'd in their Habit, I trembled with the Surprise: My Lord bid me be chearful, for I shou'd be carefully provided for. Then they called for their Children, putting the Nurses out, they wept, and blessed them; and then took private Chairs, and departed to a Friend's House, where a Midwife was provided for my Lady, who had not a Month to reckon; and she, and one Gentleman, was all the Attendance they had. I parted from them, and understood they took Coach for

Dover

Dover that Night; however, in six Days, we heard they were arrived in *France*, and a short time after at *Versailles*, where my Lord was received with great Marks of Honour, by the *French King*. After this, Sir *Rober Hamilton* had the care of my Lord's Family; and I was constantly with my Lord, *Forth*, until the pretended Prince came from *Portsmouth*, at which time my Lady *Powis* was lodged in *Whitehall*, with her young Master; and then I was oblig'd to be continually attending there, until *Sunday* before *Christmaß*, when I heard a Sermon by the famous *Fra. Hall*, on these Words, *Art thou he whom we expect, or do we look for another.* He most ingenuously exhorted their Majesties to a constant Perseverance in the Faith of the true *Messias*, who in the Day of their greatest Adversity, would be their Defence and Support. That Night there was a very great Court, as ever I saw, inasmuch that one would have thought the Ladies came on purpose to take their last Farewel of the Queen, tho' I dare say, I that hardly any thought of her so sudden Departure. But at 9 a clock I was ordered, by my Lady *Powis*, to put up all my most valuable Cloaths, as many as one Trunk would hold: This I was to do presently, and place my Trunk in my Lady's Womans Room, and at Midnight they were convey'd thence into a Barge that lay at the Water-gate, near the late *Duchess of Richmond's* House, at the upper end of the *Stone Gallery*. At the same time, the Queen, with *Count de Laxone*, and some Ladies, cross'd the Water, and went into a Coach, in which they were carried to the Water-side, near *Northfleet*, a little on this side *Gravesend*. The other Part of the Company, whom I had the Honour to attend, went into the Barge, and so through the Bridge; and we took in the Queen, &c. at *Northfleet*, as before-mentioned: Then her Majesty, and her Attendance, with the pretended Prince, embarked in a Yacht; the Wind being fair, they set Sail immediately, as did likewise the Man of War, which lay in the *Hope*, for her Majesty's Convoy. Now there were positive Orders, That no Person should so much as name the Queen or Prince, for the Seamen nor Officers, except the Captains of the Yacht,

Yacht, and Man of War, did not know that the Queen, &c. was on board, for her Majesty was to pass under the Notion of Count *de Laxon's* Lady, and all there, who were but a small Number, were mentioned, in a Pass, as his Servants, in case they had been forced to come to an Examination, by any *Dutch* Ship, or the like. When we came to the *Buoy* of the *Nore*, the Wind chopt about, and became just in our Teeth, which occasioned much Consternation amongst the Queen and Ladies. Then her Majesty desired the Captain, since he must lie by, to put in as near *Sheerness* as he could, which they were endeavouring; and the Queen was praying, when, on a sudden, the Wind became as fair as might be; and a fresh Gale, so that we came into *Callice-Peer* the next Day. I observed, that when we came near the Town, the Inhabitants were seen in very great Numbers, to flock down to the *Peer*, or *Key*, which is without the Town Walls, as being surprized to see an *English* Man of War come under the Nose of their Cannon. But, no doubt, they did expect some great Person on board; yet, I dare say, they thought not to see either the Queen or Prince; for I well remember, that as soon as the Yacht was within the *Peer*, the Searcher, or Custom-House-Officer, came on board, with a *French* Air complimented the Ladies and Gentlemen, and took the Child, offering to kiss him, and I think he did. Then going to look on the Goods, Count *de Laxon* spoke to him in *French*, the meaning was, That he was the Count *de Laxon*, but a far greater than himself was there, the good Queen of *England* and her Son. At these Words the *French*-men changed as pale as Death, and falling on their Knees, humbly begged Pardon for their Presumption, in approaching so rudely where Royal Majesty was. The poor Queen said, weeping, *That she was no more a Queen, but came there for Refuge and Protection.* Then these Officers went on shore, telling the Town-Mayor, and other Officers, who were standing on the *Key*, who was on board; upon which, notice was immediately sent to the Governour; and we heard, on a sudden, a great noise of Drums and Trumpets sounding to Arms. The Queen offered

offered to go on Shore, but the Town-Mayor besought her to stay on board, until the Governour came, which was in less than half an Hour. Then she landed, and was conducted, with her Attendants in three Coaches, to the Governour's House. The Streets were lined with Soldiers, and abundance of Spectators; some rejoiced to see the Queen safe there, but many wept to see her Sorrow. It cannot but be supposed, she was as well entertained as could be, considering they knew not of her coming. She went the next Day to the *Capuchin's Church*, and stayed there three Hours, on her Knees, before the Altar. There were prodigious Numbers of the Country People, who came to see the Queen: And she continued in *Calis* three Days; then having received an Answer of the Dispatches she sent to the Court of *France*, at her first landing, she set forward on her Journey thitherwards, and lay the first Night at *Bullen*, at the Duke's Palace there, intending to have gone further the next Day; but that Evening, some Persons of the first Quality came from the *French King*, with Letters and Compliments, intreating her Majesty to rest there until the Roads could be mended; and the *French King's* Guards, Servants, and Coaches, sent to accommodate and attend her Majesty on the Road: And I have been credibly informed, that there were more than Ten thousand Men set immediately to work to repair the High-ways. But a most unwelcome Messenger arrived the next Day, with the News of the King's being taken out of a Fisher-boat, near *Fever-sham* in *Kent*, in company of Sir *Edward Hales*, and two more; with a relation how barbarously his Majesty was treated by the Mob there, that he was confined a Prisoner there, with Thousands of the most rude Rabble about him; and that his sacred Person was in great Danger from their Insults. This News struck the Queen into such a Consternation, that she fell into Fits, and Life was hardly kept in her. I was then dispatch'd with Letters to the King, for tho' I was young, being born in *Kent*, I had a perfect Knowledge of those Roads, and was known to most in the Country, and having been used to Travel, the Queen adjudged me a proper Person: And

And I had good Success in my Journey; the Wind being tollerably Fair, I was landed at *Dover*, after being only six Hours in my Passage. From thence I took Post to *Canterbury*, and so to *Feversham*, but when near that Place, I understood the King was that Morning set out on Horseback, with some Noblemen that attended him, with a Party of his own Guards, and designed to lie that Night at *Rocheſter*; at which Place he was arrived before I reached thither; and as soon as I came, the King was informed that I had Letters from the Queen, he withdrew from his Company: And his first Question was, *How does the Queen, is She and my Son well?* To which I replied, and delivered my Letters, and withdrew. Then the King called for me again, and asked me several more Questions, and ordered me to attend him to *Whitehall* the next Day, which was on a *Sunday*. And as the King came through the City, I had the opportunity to see how joyfully the People with their loud Acclamations seemed to receive him again. Being arrived at *Whitehall*, matters appeared with a good Face; but the Priests, as tho' they had not done Mischief enough already, began to spread themselves in their Habits, like Emmits on a Mole-hill in a Sun shiny Day. However it was, in a short time, the King was ordered to leave that Court, and retire to *Rocheſter*, whither I attended him again: And remember, the King smiled at a Remark he made, which was, That amongst his own Guards, there was hardly one to be seen at Mass; but he was then under the Prince of *Orange's Dutch-Guards*, and about one half of them were seen with their Books and Beads, very devout, at Mass. The King did much complain of his Usage at *Feverſham*, where one *Hunt*, a Fisherman, thrust his Hand into his Majesty's Breeches, and took out of his Pocket something more than a Hundred Guineas; a small gold Crucifix, which was *Edmund the Confessor*, (the first King that ever cured the Evil by Touching,) and in this small Piece of Wood, supposed to be a piece of the Cross on which our Blessed Saviour was crucified; the loss of this troubled the King extremely, for by some means it was so lost, as not to be had again, tho' much

Money was offered to any who could produce it. The King frequently would laughing tell how they served him at first taking him out of the Boat; for it seems, the Rabble knew *Sir Edward Hales*; and the King was the most indifferently dressed among them, having a Pair of short Boots on, but the rest had none. The Fellows were so civil to *Sir Edward Hales*, and the others, as to carry them on their Backs through the Mud, for the Boat lay some distance from the dry Ground; but as for the King, they took him for an old Priest, and *Sir Edward* desiring them to bring that Gentleman also, they cried, *D--n him for an old D-- he has Boots-on, let him come himself*; and so the King, with much ado, waded thro' the Mud.

His Majesty had in his Pocket a Pair of very large Diamond-Buttons for his Shirt-sleeves, which one of the Fellows taking from him, cried out, *See this old Fop carries glass Buttons about him*, and flung them on the Ground, but the King, who knew the value, took them up again, remembering, that so it was to cast Pearl before Swine. But to return to my own Adventures, at *Rockefter* I was dispatch'd back to *France* again with the King's Letters, which I had fastned to the inside of the Crown of my Hat: And going to *Dover*, by the assistance of *Mr. Derew*, the Deputy-Governour, and my good Friend, I went off in the Packet-boat, without any manner of Hazard or Trouble; and coming to the Governour of *Callis*, he gave me a Pass, and Post-Warrant, that I might be as expeditious as possible in my Journey to the Queen, who was let forward for the Court of *France*, and I overtook her Majesty a little on this side *St. Denis*, and found her accompanied with several Princes and Princesses, of the Royal Family of *France*, with a prodigious Number of Nobility and Gentry in Coaches very richly adorned, the like I never saw before nor since; and the Roads were crouded with Spectators, insomuch, that with great difficulty I got to the Coach-side to deliver my Packet; but as soon as the Queen saw me, she put forth her Hand to receive it; and for a while her Coach was ordered to stand still, though her Majesty had receiv'd
Letters

Letters from the King but two Days before, yet those I brought, I suppose, by what I learn'd afterwards, gave great hopes of his being speedily with them, for the Queen was visibly more pleased after she had read those Papers, than she had been observed to be whilst she had been in *France*.

Coming to *St. Dennis*, at the great Church there, she desired to go in and pay her Devotion to the Saint of that Name, but the Monks belonging thereunto, kept the Door shut against her, excusing themselves, by pleading the ancient Custom of *France*, that that being the burying Place of the Royal Family, none of that Blood are admitted, unless at the time of a Funeral, to enter into that Church: With this, the Queen was satisfied. And coming to *St. Germans*, at the Gate of the Court, her Majesty was received by the *French King*, who, himself, took her out of the Coach, and after saluting her, went to the second Coach, and honour'd the young Gentleman, and my Lady Governess; then led the Queen up Stairs, where all things were prepared in a very splendid manner for her Reception and Entertainment; and near half of the *French King's* Household Servants were sent to *St. Germans*, and did attend there about six Weeks, until the *English* Servants of the King and Queen were come. King *James*, in a few Days after the Queen's arrival at *St. Germans*, came there also, and was received in very great Splendor, by the *French King*, who gave him the Right-hand, and shewed all the specious Pretences of Love and Respect imaginable; to all this I had the Fortune to be an Eye-witness; and having had such good Success in my last Adventure into *England*, I was pitcht upon to be one of those who were to be sent upon matters of Intrigue; and to encourage me, I was made a Page of Honour to the Queen, and received several good Presents. I came for *England* much about the time that the Prince and Princess of *Orange* were proclaimed King and Queen; and had One hundred and fifty Pistoles given me by the late King to defray my Expences. I came to *Calis*, and so over in the Packet-boat; and being landed at *Dover*, I went to a Friend's House, saying, I was come from *Ramsgate*, a small

small Town hard by, and that I wanted a Horse to carry me to *Deal*, with which my Friend supplied me, after I had eat and refreshed my self; so to *Deal* I went, and there they knew I came from a Friend's House at *Dover*, and my coming from *France* was not so much as suspected. I came from *Deal* to *London* in a Hoocher, so went to the *Tower* in a mean Habit, without my Sword, and delivered my Letters to one of the Prisoners there, and by his Advice I got the opportunity to speak with the rest with whom I had any business. And at this time I went to visit my Master *Hartly*, and his Mother, who had now taken a House in the *White-Friars*: I told them that I had been with my Father-in-law, in the Country, during these troublesome Times, and that I came to *London*, partly to see them, and some other Friends; and the old Gentlewoman was over-joyed to see me, and by all means I must lodge at their House: I considered the matter, and told them, I had promised my Father to be in *Kent* again in four Days, but I should not stay long there, and at my return I would come and be with them, and in the mean while I would send them some Presents out of the Country; for I was only waiting for my Letters, to go for *France* again: And in two Days after I had them, so I wrote to a Friend to send up some Fowls, and a Barrel of Oysters in my Name, and I writ a Letter for him to send with them, so that all passed for current that I had told them. Now it not being known that I had been already in *France*, by the Secretaries of State, I, by a Stratagem, got a Pass to go to *France*; however, I knew the Master of the Packets at *Dover*, had seen me, and it might be of some ill Consequence; so I ingaged my self to go in an *English* Vessel, bound for *Ostend*, in Company of several Gentlemen and Ladies of my Acquaintance, that were going for *France* the same way; with these I embarked near the *Tower*, but being observed by some busie Fellows, the Ship was stopr, and all the Passengers brought back, and landed at *St. Catherine's*, under a Guard, to be by them conveyed to the *Tower*; and the hellish Mob of the Place being in an uproar, cried-out, *Jesuits, Papists, Devils, Blood-suckers, Murderers,*

Murderers, and what not; and so pelted us with Dirt, Turnip-tops, and all manner of Filth that lay in the way, that 'before we came to the *Tower*, both Men and Women were in such a Pickle, that we could hardly be known or seen what we were made of, only as we had Life, we might otherwise be taken for a dumb *St. Taffy*, on the first Day of *March*. We were examined at the *Tower*, and afterwards kept Prisoners some few Days. But I got loose first, by reason of my Pass, and went away in a Ship bound for the same Port as the former. We landed there in three Days, and I wen thence to *Dunkirk*, so to *St. Omers*, and from thence to *St. Germans*, where I was most gladly received by the King and Queen, and those about them, and the more, by reason of the many Letters I brought them, and the good Success I had had. At this time the Court began to think of going for *Ireland*, and Messengers were dispatched almost every Day one, either to *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, and I was not there above a Fortnight, but I was sent a fourth time to *England*, with Letters as before; and now I had an Order from the *French King*, Directed to the Governours of *Callis* and *Bullen*, to press me a Sloop to carry me over, and to land me privately at some convenient Place in *England*, in the Night-time. I took Post from *Paris* on Sunday-night, and on Munday I came to *Bullen*, having, in my way, had a sad Fall from my Horse, and was obliged to bleed as soon as I came to my Inn. The next Morning I waited on the Governour, who received me kindly; but there was not one Sloop in that Harbour, therefore I was obliged to go on to *Callis*. The Governour perceiving my Hurt that I had received, offered me his Chais to carry me to *Callis*, and would by all means oblige me to accept the use of it, which I did; and coming to *Callis*, I had immediately an Order from the Governour, to a proper Officer, to see a Sloop well fitted-out, with handsome Accommodation for me. I began now to be well known at the Town, to the Officers, to Father Grey, a secular Priest, and an *Irish* man, who resided there, to assist the *English* Strangers; as also to Mr Piggot, and one Mr. Byrne, Merchants in

that Place; on the former of these I had a Bill for a supply of Money, when my Occasions should require it. I embarked on *Tuesday*, in the Night, and as we came out to Sea, the Boar's crew espied an *Englisk* Man of War, and I was in a great Concern, not so much for my Person, as for my Letters and Papers, amongst which, was a Declaration of King *James's*, to be printed in *England*: However, by the advantage of the Night, and our Vessel making great way, we bearing also somewhat to the Southward, they lost sight of us; and the next Morning I was landed in *Marget-Isle*, from whence I marched on Foot as far as *Sterry*, two Miles on the other side of *Canterbury*, from which Place I got a Horse for my self, and another for a Man to bring him back, and with these I went to *Ospring*, intending the next Morning for to hire a Horse from thence to *Sittingburn*, and there to take Post to *London*. But my long and unusual Walk the Day before, had so tired me, that by the time I was ready to take Horse at the *Red-Lion* at *Ospring*, the *Canterbury* Flying-Coach came to the Door, and there being room, I took my Place, and came that Night safe to Town. I was not then apprehensive of any danger, but I had not been in *London* four Days, before I heard there was a Warrant out against me, for High-Treason; and the Person that gave this Information, had never seen me, only heard some speak of my being come lately from *France*, and tho' they had my Name right, yet the Description of my Person was not so, for they took me, by my Name, to be a Brother to one Mr. *Fuller*, that serv'd the Queen *Dowager*: He was a Man well in Years, and Lusty, and Tall. I ventured to go and lodge at my Master's, and found, by Experience, that was the most safe Place; for they confidently reported, and most certainly believed, that I was only in *Kent*; and when I went from them, they imagined I went there; and to confirm this, I always took care to send Presents, and contrived a Letter of my own writing, to be sent them from *Milton* in *Kent*, when I was in *France*: And the Warrant not being much regarded by those that had it, I was soon easie in the matter; and a little disguising my

my self, I ventured again to go and see my Friends in the *Tower*. Then getting my Dispatches to *France*, I ventured to go again, but must find out a new Way; and with the help of a Friend, I found out an honest Master of a Fishing-Vessel, who for 30 Guineas to be paid here, and 20 more at *Callis*, would undertake to carry me thither: I chopt up the Bargain, and bought me a Second-hand Sute of Sea-cloaths, besmear'd my Hands and Face with Pitch, Tar, Dirt, and the like, and away we went. I had two full Hours work to clean my self when we came to *Callis*, and waiting on the Governour, I prevailed with him to stop the Packet-boat until my Fisher-man was gone back. I paid him his 20 Guineas more, and he bought some Goods there, and so set Sail to Fishing, and back to *London*. I made no stop, but took Post again for *St. Germans*; and at my coming there, I had the Honour to kiss their Majesty's Hands, and was thanked for my Care and faithful Service. The King, at this time, was just going for *Ireland*, and the Citizens of *Paris* had invited him to hear Mass in the great Church of that City, and a large Sum of Money was gathered to bear the Expence of his coming upon their Invitation; and Mass was also to be sung throughout the City for the King's Success in his intended Expedition: I had the Curiosity to go and see the Reception the King had, which, truly was Magnificent; the Burghers in Arms lined all the Streets through which the King passed, all the Balconies and Houses were hung and adorned curiously with Tapstry, and other very fine and rich Ornaments. I went in the King's leading Coach, and must say, that I never saw any Appearance in *England*, of that kind, to compare to it. The Nobility of *France*, of both Sexes, were there in prodigious Concourse, and the Ladies were attired with Ornaments of Jewels, and other riches, beyond all Expressions; and so many and fine Coaches, with rich Trappings to the Horses, was, as I heard many say, hardly ever seen in *Paris* before. At the Church-door, the King was received by the Arch-bishop of *Paris*, assisted by a great many Bishops: He presented the King with Holy-water, and a most fine

fine Consort of Musick playing all the while the King was going from the great Door at the West-end of the Church to the side of the High-Altar, where a Canopy was fixed, being very rich, and under it a great Chair for the King, who being placed there, Mass was sung by the Arch-bishop, with the greatest Solemnity imaginable, as was also the performance of the Procession; at which the King attended, following next the Host with a lighted Taper in his Hand, as had likewise all the Princes and Nobility present. This Ceremony being ended, the King was conducted to the Place where he dined, which Dinner was no less sumptuous than the former Reception had been; and that being over, he had the same Honours paid him as he went out of Town, that he had in coming in. And a few Days after, his Majesty took his Journey for *Ireland*; but before I go further upon my own Adventures, I cannot but mention what was said by a Country Peasant, that happened to be in *Paris* when the late King was so entertained; this Fellow seeing such mighty Doings, asked the meaning, and being answered, that King *James* was come to hear Mass there; the poor Fellow, shaking his Head, said in *French*, *Alas! poor Man, has not he had enough of Mass already?* This Story, whether true or a fiction only, yet was much talked on in *France*, and went for current. But to return. I was ordered to *England* again in great haste, and had my Pass and Warrant for a Boat, as before. I came safe to *Callis*, and was immediately ship'd-off in an open Boat, with about 30 Men, who were used to the Owling Trade, of bringing Wool from *Romney-Marsh*. We parted from *Callis* about 4 in the Afternoon, and at Night it was dismal and dark, however, these Fellows knew the Coast extremely well, and being just by, it seems, they had other Business than barely to land me, for the Master told me when I was there, that he had come over that Night, altho' he had not been commanded on my account, for he expected a Waggon, and eight Packs of Wool, that he was to carry over from thence. I then asked him how he could in Conscience ask me 20 Pistoles for carrying me over? For observe, tho' I had the

the French King's Warrant to press these Vessels; yet I, and others, were obliged to pay them well. He told me, *Où Monsieur, you are on a publick Service, and our King has great Taxes from us, therefore he allows that we should be paid for what we do.* I thought it no proper time to dispute the matter, lest the Rogues should rob me of all I had, and then throw me into the Sea. Then I got my self ashore, and wandered up and down until break of Day; then I went to a Farmer's House whom I knew, and I could trust; I bid him ask no questions, but straightway get me two Horses, and a Guide to carry me through the *Wild of Kent*, and so to *Tunbridge*; which being done, I took Post there, and came to *London*. I went directly to my Master's, carried them some Presents, being just come out of *Kent*, and at Night I went and deliver'd all my Letters, and desired each of those to whom I conveyed them, to get their Answers ready in two Days, for I must back again to *France*. (I forbear to mention either the Persons to whom these Papers were brought, or the Contents, by reason I would not give any Offence) I had their Answers for the Queen, &c. And then I took my old Fisher-man again, and he carried me, as before, very safely to *Callis*, where my Pass lay ready; for by this time the French King being jealous of Spies coming into his Country, had ordered, That no Person, whatsoever coming from any foreign Parts, should be suffered to go further than to the first Garrisoned Frontier Town, without his Leave and Pass; and this Order was most strictly observed in *France*, insomuch, that some Persons from *England*, arriving at *Callis*, who were very well known to the Governour, were, notwithstanding, detained by him, until they had leave from Court to go forwards. But I left my Pass always there, and finding it, went forward to *St. Germans*, and waited on the Queen, who commanded me, that Evening, to go with my Lord *Walgrave*, (who acted there, after King *James* was in *Ireland*, as his Ambassador to the French King) to whom his Lordship did me the Honour to present me, telling his most Christian Majesty, that I was the young Messenger who had so often been betwixt *France* and *England* upon the Queen's

Queen's Errands. My Lord *Walgrave* gave the *French King* the Contents of the Papers I brought over, especially those I had from *Scotland*, where the Lord *Dundee* was then in open Rebellion; and the *French King* was so well pleased therewith, that he gave me 500 Pistoles out of his Cabinet, rolled up in Papers, being a Hundred in each Role; I had the Favour to kiss his Hand, and his Promise of future Favours. This gave me great Encouragement, and I mattered not what Hazards I run to serve the King and Queen; and truly, had I been wiser, I think, I should hardly have ventured so boldly, as many times I did. This time I saw several Balls, and glorious Entertainments at *Versailles* and *Marli*, the *French King*, the late Queen, the Dauphin, Dauphiness, and all the Court of *France* being present: But in a short time I must to *England* again upon the old Score, and it was on a *Tuesday*-night, when the Queen told me I must go for *England*, and not only so, but I must deliver one particular Letter, to a Person within 10 Miles of *Bristol*, by the next *Sunday*; I answered her Majesty, That with humble Submission, I thought it impossible; to which, she readily reply'd, *Impossibilities are only to those People who will not undertake them.* I then assured her, I would do all that in me lay to fulfil her Commands. And taking Post that Night, I came safe to London on *Friday*, and had delivered the said Letter, and all the rest, as ordered, by 10 a clock on *Sunday*-morning. Coming back to London, I lodged this time in *Westminster*, near Mr. *Rowland Tempest*, who was come lately from *Ireland* with Letters; he was King *James's* private Secretary; and truly, by that time I had been in Town three or four Days, we had notice that some false Brother had betrayed us, and there were Warrants for high Treason against him and I, and that several Messengers were searching for us; we knew that no body that had the knowledge of our Lodgings, would do us any hurt, for there were but three that knew them, so we kept close, and when we had occasion to speak to each other, in the Night, without our Shoes, we tramp over the Houses, and consulted (how we should get off) behind a large Stack of Chimneys,

Chimneys, and having contrived also how to come by the Papers we stayed for, we resolved to make all the haste we could out of the Messengers way; besides, we had apprehensions of a Proclamation against us, therefore disguised our selves in Sea-Habits, he like a burly Master of a Ship, and I like a Servant; away we went on Horse-back Kick and Spur, true Seaman like; and to avoid *Canterbury* and *Rochester*, we rid round by *Maidstone*, and so took all By-roads until we came to *Deal*, there *Rowly* had two or three Friends, who used to carry him over, and we making to them, viz. to Mr. *Man*, and young *Bowls*, they promised to carry us off that Night, and towards Evening we took a Walk down to the Water-side, thinking to see them at their Boats, and in our way coming back, we saw the Messengers in pursuit of us; we were so near them as to know them, tho' by our going boldly to them, they did not mind us, by reason of our Habit, and loitering Carriage; so we made off to a convenient Barn, and there lay concealed until it was dark; but they had taken care for to secure all the Smacks and Boats, unless some open small ones, so that none could go out without being known, and so the Master must come back no more, unless to be hang'd: However, our Watermen were very trusty, and meeting us at Night, told us what we must trust to, for either we must stay and venture being taken, or we must go off in an open Boat; the danger was great both ways, but we resolved to trust God with our Lives rather than Men, and so resolved to venture off in a small open Boat. We had got good store of Liquors, and we, as well as the Water-men, worked tightly, so that next Morning we landed safe at *Callis*; but abundance of People seeing us come in there in a small open Boat, welcomed us very heartily, believing some great Danger, or extraordinary Business, had forced us to that eminent Hazard. We paid them a good round Sum who brought us over, 40 l. more, which was four times more than the value of the Boat: We waited on the Governour, telling him our Story; he sent for *Bowls* and *Man*, the Persons who brought us over, and treated them very handsomely, at his own Table, incouraging them to be always civil to King

James's

James's Friends; he also gave them handsome Presents. But *Bowls* in a short time after, turn'd to the other side, and did considerable Service, by the encouragement of a late great Admiral, at Sea: They served our Turns in our greatest need, and so I leave them. Mr. *Tempest* and I went Post very merrily for *St. Germans*, playing many wild Pranks as we pass'd thro' Towns and Villages, in our way thither, and at our Arrival there, the Queen received me very graciously, but for several Days together, refused to see Mr. *Tempest*, some Persons having done him very unkind, and as untrue, Dishonour to the Queen, by laying to his Charge the basest of Crimes, which he was said to have committed to the King's prejudice in *England*; he being a Protestant, the Queen was easily induced to have but an indifferent Opinion of him. And after he was admitted to the Queen, she received him with such Indifferency, that it struck him to the Heart, and he was hardly once seen chearful to the Day of his Death. At this time the *French Court* was very frequent in their Visits to the Queen, and several Balls and Plays were performed at Court, to divert her melancholy Hours, and sometimes she retired into a Nunnery for a Fortnight together, and going into that Retirement about this time, by the interest of my Lady *Powis*, I obtained the Favour to go for *Ireland* with the Queen's Letters, which she was unwilling to permit at first, by reason I had the knowledge of her Affairs in *England*, and she could not well spare me when she had occasion to send me thither; and on the other hand, I remembered the Dangers I was lately in, of being taken, which, indeed, made me a little fearful of going so soon back again: But I had my Letters to the King, and others in *Ireland*, with a Hundred Pistoles to bear my Expences thither. I had likewise the *French King's* Order for a Ship to carry me over; and according I took Post for *Brest*, and embarked there. In my Passage we had very Stormy Weather, and contrary Winds, so that I was about fifteen Days on my Voyage; but the Commander was extremely Civil and Courteous, and we had great store of good Provisions. We came in sight of several *English Men of War*, but none

none of them could come up with us ; however, we put
 our selves in a Posture of Defence, though we were glad
 not to be tried. I landed near *Waterford*, and took Post
 for *Dublin*, going directly to my Lord *Powis*, whom King
James had some time before created a Duke ; by him I
 was introduced to the King for to deliver my Letters,
 and kissed his Majesty's Hand. He asked me many Que-
 stions relating to some Affairs in *England*, and concerning
 what Ships I had seen in my Voyage from *France*. I
 gave him the best Account I could ; and stay'd at *Dublin*
 about eight Days. Then I embarked in an *Irish* trading
 Vessel, which in six Days landed me near *Bristol*, where
 I was taken and carried before a Justice of the Peace,
 who strictly examined me, and caused me to be searched,
 but my Papers were too secure for him to find out, some
 being in Keys, others made up in the Moulds of my
 Buttons, and so covered over with Silk or Silver, which
 I wore on my Cloaths, and some Letters I had sowed
 up in my Boots, within the Linings. Then I pleaded
 that I came from *Wales*, and naming some Gentlemen
 there, the good Natured Justice believed all I said, and
 invited me to dine with him ; so I got Horses to *Bristol*,
 from thence I went with a Letter to a great Man, in
 the Neighbourhood of that Country, which having de-
 livered, I was assisted by him, and took my Journey
 directly for *London*, and coming to *Brentford*, I there
 quitted my Horse, and came down the River in a Pair
 of Oars. I lodged, this time, at a Lady's, being a Ro-
 man Catholick, in *Golden-Square*, and went never abroad
 but in the Night-time, in a Coach or Chair. I brought
 over from *Ireland* a great many Letters, to be sent into
Scotland, and the Gentleman, who I was ordered to de-
 liver my Letters to, having cut the Buttons open, sealed
 them up, and dispatched them away to the Lord *Dundee*,
 to whom there was also, at this time, some Remittances
 of Money made by the same Person. But I having
 finished my Affairs, I began my Journey for *France*, in
 company with Mr. *Wm. Carrel*, and we took a Boat in
Sussex, near to *Chichester*, and after 36 Hours we landed
 at *Diep*. The Boat which carried us over, was fitted
 out

out for catching of Mackerel, and the Master, as I heard afterwards, returned to *England*, and his own Home, very safe, but Mr. *Carrel* and I were detained at *Diep*, until we had writ to *St. Germans* for a Pass to come forward, which was sent us with all imaginable haste; and we no sooner received it, but set forward for the Court, where the Queen received me very graciously, and the more welcome, by reason I brought Letters from the King, as well as from *England*. By this time I was highly favoured by that Princess, and had leave, upon any occasion, to communicate my Business to her, either on my own, or others behalf. And now was I sent to wait on Monsieur *Lovoy*, the *French King's* Prime Minister of State, who received me kindly: And having read the Letters I brought him from *Ireland*, he seemed mightily obliged to King *James* for the Honour he had done him, in writing to him; then he carried me to his Master's Backstairs, and in less than half an Hour I was called in; the King gave me his Hand to kiss, and made me a Present of 800 Pistoles, ordered me to stay at *Versailles* until the Afternoon; Monsieur *Lovoy* did me the Honour to oblige me to dine with him; and after Dinner he went with me again to the King, who gave me a Letter for the Queen, and the next Day his most Christian Majesty came to visit her, and being retired into her Majesty's little Bed-Chamber, I was called in by my Lord *Walgrave*, and abundance of Questions were demanded of me, concerning several Persons, and Affairs in *England* and *Scotland*, for I had seen some Gentlemen in *London*, who came from the Lord *Dundee*, to negotiate some Affairs there, upon a Design then on foot, of raising a Rebellion in the North of *England*, in order to give a Diversion to the Forces employ'd by King *William* against *Dundee*. The *French King* was so well pleased with the Account I gave him, that the same Nighr, the Dutches of *Powis* told me, by the Queen's command, that the King of *France* would suddenly give me an Employ in his Guard *du Corps*. But in the conclusion, I was also given to understand, that in two or three Days I must for *England* again, I told her Grace, That I was very ready

ready to serve the King and Queen, but, I thought, by going so frequently, I might, perchance, get an Halter in *England*, before my promised Place in *France*. My Lady laugh't, and said, God would preserve me in so good an Undertaking: I answered, I questioned not the Divine Protection, nor had I any manner of dislike to going. The Queen her self, two Days after, sent for me, and bid me prepare for a long Journey, for the next Day I must depart thence, and go, not only for *London*, but to *Durham*; and I was under a necessity of being there in a Weeks time if possible. Her Majesty told me, that after this Journey I should have some rest, and my Services should never be forgot by her: I assured her Majesty, that I was not only ready to run all hazards for the King's and her Service, but that I would, for the same Purpose, freely lay down my Life. She gave me, at my Departure, 250 Pistoles, and an Order for an 100 Guineas more to be paid me at *London*. I had, this time, Forty seven Letters, all of the Queen's, and the French King's, and Monsieur *Lovoy's* own writing, and was commanded to carry no other Letter nor Paper whatsoever, for any Person, insomuch that I was obliged to deny my Lady Dutchess of *Powis*, the bringing one Letter to her. Son: I had also in my charge, a Commission with the great Seal to it, and it was for my Lord *Dundee*; I had likewise Bills of Exchange for 35000 *l.* to be remitted from *London* to *Scotland* by several Hands, viz. part of the Bills were to go directly from *London* to *Edinburgh*, others from *London* to *York*, and to *Durham*, *Newcastle upon Tyne*, and from thence to be made payable in *Scotland*. This Contrivance was most ingenuously undertaken and managed by Mr. *Ashton*, and Mr. *Graham*. But at my leaving the Court at *St. Germans* with this great Charge, I was put into a strange kind of pannick fear, for the Night before, I dreamt that as I landed in *England*, I was apprehended, and all my Papers seized; the Fright of which awaked me; but I then performed (as I constantly did the Day before my Departure) my religious Duties, of confessing, and receiving the Holy sacrament; and Father *Lewis Sabran*, who was the Prince's

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Chaplain,

Chaplain, and continued my Confessor, I told him my Dream; but he advised me to be in no whit dismay'd, for Dreams were not to be regarded, and it was a great Sin for to mind them. I had my Dispatches from the Queen at the dead of Night; and all my Buttons being to be sowed on, I sat by the Person who did it, until seven the next Morning, there being several Letters not worked over, and when those were finished, I took Post away for *Callis*: And in my way I met Father *Corker*, a Monk, who was newly come from *England*, he being employed to and fro as I was. This Reverend Gentleman was accoutered more like a Dragoon, than a ghostly Father, having on him a red Coat, with a swinging Belt above a Foot broad, about his Waist, a terrible large long Sword, a Campaigne Wig, and a laced Hat, and he looked most Furiously: We could not part without a little Chat, to enquire how all fared, from whence each of us came; and going to the next Inn, we drank smartly of good Champain, for the time we stayed; and after our Departure, I found by Experience, that a Spur in the Head was worth two in the Heels, for my Guide could not ride fast enough to please me, tho' I urged him to the utmost, but at length I proceeded to Blows, and the Fellow offering to turn, I cut off, with my Sword, a large piece of his right Ear, upon which, he made such a dismal Noise, that I gave him a Pistole to be quiet, and the poor Fellow was so over-joy'd at that, having never been so rich before, that for half another, he told me, I should cut off his other.

When I came to *Callis*, there was never a Boat to be had until the next Day; and having waited on the Governour, I went to my Lodging with honest Father *Grey*, an *Irish* Merchant, who drank me very hard, and by all means would go over with me, that is, to see me set ashore, and so they did, the next Night returning back with the Vessel that I crossed the Water in. I was set on Shore betwixt *Dover* and *Deal*, in the Midnight, and knowing that Country, and it not being very dark, I troop'd on Foot to *Sandwich*, and from thence took Horses to *Canterbury*, where I alighted before I came into the Town,

Town, pretending I had some Business hard-by, so I dismissed him, and going the Back and By-ways through that City, I got fresh Horses without the *West Gate*, and at *Sittingburn* I took Post, it being towards Night, and the next Morning, very early, I got safe into *London*, and having delivered all I had in charge, I proceeded, taking Post for *York*, where I stay'd about four Hours, from thence I rid Post to *Durham*, and did my Business there, then going to *Newcastle*, the Gentlemen that I was to meet with, were gone into *Northumberland*, to a Place called *Rothbury*; and this last Part of my Journey was worse than all the former, for I had the greatest Difficulty in the World to get Horses, and a Guide; then for Lodging and Diet upon that Road, I never met with the like. At a small Village, where I lay one Night, I desired a Couple of Fowls for Supper, inviting my Landlord and his Spouse to partake with me; but just as the Fowls were taken from the Spit, I by chance, stood in a Passage looking into the Kitchen, where I saw the Woman cram her Mouth full of Salt and Water, which she gargled up and down her Throat and Mouth for a while, then squirted the same through the Body of the Fowl, and this she put into the Dish for Sauce, and my Stomach was satisfied before I sat down; however, I took no notice, only pretended I could not eat, and that I was not very well, therefore desired two or three Eggs boiled in the Shells, which were got ready for me, and mine Host and his Wife had the Fowls for themselves. But when I came the next Day to the Persons to whom I was sent, I found a generous and handsome Reception, staying with them three Days, in which time, I think, we drank King *James*, his Queen, and the Prince's Health more than an Hundred times, and all our Discourse was Treason, &c.

The Master of the House sent his Servant and Horses to conduct me back to *Durham*, and from thence I rid Post to *London* in two Days; where I went to visit my old Master *Hartly* and his Mother. By this Traveling, I was most strangely tann'd, which they admired at, but were easily perswaded to impute it to the Country Air,

and they thought I was newly come from *Kent*. There were yet several of the King's Friends in the *Tower*, and I ventured to make them one visit more; and at the *Tower-Gate* the Warders took my Name, but I made bold to give them the wrong, which had like to have undone me, for going to my Lord *Montgomery*; at first sight he saluted me by my own Name, at which, his Warder being present, and having before heard me give in another Name at the Gate, he stared, but I winked on my Lord, who presently recalled his Words, saying, *Really Sir I ask your pardon, for I took you at first for one Fuller*; by this means I came off; besides, the Warder was very much my Lord's most humble Servant. I visited three more Prisoners there, but no great notice was taken of me, nor were they strictly observing. I had some Papers from them, and in a few Days I got all my Intelligence for *France*; and having hired a Boat near *St. Catherines*, the Fellow was known to several of my Friends, and had carried them to *France*, under my Circumstances; I gave him a Hundred Guineas, and he carried me down the River, and so over to *Callis*, where my Pass lay ready, and I made all the haste I could to *St. Germans*. The Queen was mightily pleased with what I had done, and sent me again to the *French Court*, where I was admitted to the King's presence, to give an account of my Proceedings, and I got pretty well by it, for the same time the King gave me 500 Pistoles, and stood near half an Hour with his Hand on my Head. I was shortly sent for *England* again, in like manner about three times more; and forasmuch as I have entertained you, I fear, too long already with these Journies, I shall now proceed to the Twelfth time of my coming to *England*, as the most remarkable Passage of my Life, viz. I was come from *France* some time after *Michaelmas*, with a great many Letters in my Buttons, in Keys, and all manner of ways that could be contrived for safety. I gave notice of my being come, and several L-ds and others, appointed to meet me that Night, at the Half-moon Tavern in *Cheapside*, and at 8 they were all there; I had stript off all the Buttons from my upper Coat, in which

which their Letters were, and delivered them unto them, and having Business to do that Night, I left them about 9, and as I was going out of the Tavern to take Coach at the Door, who should be a coming in, but my Guardian, Mr. *Hartlet*, and his Nephew, Major *Kitchel*, who were, both of them, mighty zealous for King *William*, and the present Government; and their Footman coming before them, held his Flambeau just against my Face, so Major *Kitchel* seeing me, took me by the Hand, saying, *Cozen Fuller, I am over-joyed to see you*: I was strangely surprized, and would have left them, but they took me aside in the Passage, saying, I must go along with them in Major *Kitchel's* Coach to *Whitehall*, and that if I refused, they would immediately send for a Constable, and charge him with me: I thought it was my wisest method to go into the Coach with them, and not make an Uproar there, lest it might occasion trouble to those in whose Company I had just been in; and in the Coach I hoped that I might persuade them to let me go, which I endeavoured, but to little purpose, for to *Whitehall* Gate I was carried: Major *Kitchel* going out of the Coach, told me he desired me to stay quietly there with *Hartlet*, and his Servant, telling me, that he would not be absent long, and if I attempted to go off, he desired them to call the Guards to their Assistance; so I was finely hope up, but not very much cast down: Major *Kitchel* comes back instantly, and bids the Coachman drive to my Lord *Shrewsbury's* House, behind *St. James's* Square, and we no sooner came thither, but my Lord came in his Chair, for I found it was so ordered that I might not be exposed at the Office; nor did any, but my Lord, and those who came with me, know I was a Prisoner. His Lordship asked me abundance of Questions concerning my coming from, and being in *France*, but I would own nothing of the matter; and it being late, about 11 of the clock, my Lord gave Mr. *Kitchel* a Warrant to keep me in his Custody until the next Morning, and accordingly he did so, and lodged me in his own House, lying in the same Bed with me, and his Servant sitting in the Room all Night. The next Morning I was carried to my

Lord's House again, and examined, my Lord *Sidney*, now Earl of *Romney*, being present. I still was dumb, and knew nothing of *France*, only that I was there once, and had their Pals, but for Intrigues, I knew nothing of them. These Noble Lords knew as well as my self, that I was not ingenuous with them, so I was threatned with *Newgate*, and Irons, or to the *Tower*, at best, I must go. But these Menaces did not affect me, I stood firm to my Task; then I was searched, and tho' I had above Fifty Letters that I brought from *France*, about me, yet could they find none. I was kept private all that Day; and the King being acquainted with the matter, I was carried to Dr. *Tillotson's*, then Dean of *St. Pauls*, at his House, being the Deanry, where I was kept, under a Guard of two Gentlemen, but not suffered to go out of the House: I continued there almost nine Weeks, being visited by the Secretary, and others from Court, almost every Day, perswading me to confess what I knew; but the Dean applied himself to me, only concerning my Religion, and engaged me to enter into Arguments with him. Mr. *Harfet*, and Maj. *Kitchel* came likewise daily to me, to perswade me to turn Protestant, and to confess all I knew, nor would they give me any rest until I had done it: Altho', I may truly say, that the Dean's Arguments went farthest with me, and I was convinced of the necessity of Turning, in order to my eternal Salvation, from the Superstition of the Church of *Rome*, to the solid Faith and Principles held by the Church of *England*; nor was the good Life of this great Man, a small Inducement to me, for his Example for Holiness was admirable. And by all these means I was perswaded sincerely to renounce the Doctrine and Principles of the Church of *Rome*, and embraced those of the Church of *England*, (which by God's Grace I hope ever to hold fast.) And being thus far converted, they perswaded me, soon after, to be ingenuous in my Confession, and thereby do all that in me lay to preserve that Holy Church and Faith which I had sincerely embraced; and they shewed me how indispensable a Duty this was upon me, and how great a Sin it would be for me to dip my Hands in the effusion of so much Blood,

Blood, as consequently must be shed in these Kingdoms, if these horrid Plots and Designs were carried on, in which I was so much engaged, and had been an Instrument in the endeavouring to bring them to pass, which also put the whole Nation, as well as our Neighbours, in great danger of being ruined, and brought under the *French* Yoke of arbitrary Power and Slavery.

I had here also my temporal Interest to consider ; I knew how great things I might expect if King *James* was restored ; I considered the Favours I had received from him and his Queen ; I remembered my Catholick Relations, and how that this Change, in course, would make my Uncle for ever disown me : I hated to be an Evidence to betray my Master and Mistress, and all my Friends.

Then came my dear Mother's Prediction to pass : By *Harflet* I was taken, and here he comes in, telling me I had largely of my own ; I should serve in the greatest Degree imaginable, both King *William* and his Kingdoms ; I should be highly favoured by him, and caressed by all good Protestants, if I did but confess ; and a hundred fair Promises were made me, not only by him, but by the great Men, who left no Stone unturn'd to engage me. I know not how to express what a strange Consternation I was in when I writ my Confession : I pray'd, then writ, pray'd, and pray'd, and writ, writ again, and having finished it, was carried to the King ; and the Night following I was conveyed to *Kensington* in a Coach, having a Cloak on ; I was privately conveyed up the King's Back-stairs, and kissed his Majesty's Hand ; when he largely expressed the Sense he had of my ingenuous Confession, and the prospect of the great Service he should reap thereby : His Majesty gave me strong Assurances of his continual Favour, and promised that honourable Provision should be made for me. After which, I said, Sir, to confirm what I have given your Majesty in Writing, in a great Measure, I have many Letters yet about me, which I brought from France. Upon this, the King turn'd to the Secretary, saying ; My Lord, was he not searched in all this time ? Yes Sir, answered his Lordship again, and

I much wonder to hear Mr. Fuller talk of Letters about him. I replied, Permit me a Knife or Scissars, my Lord, and I will instantly produce them. Accordingly a Knife was given me, and the King said afterwards, He thought I was mad, when I began to cut my Buttons to pieces; but when I had taken a Letter out, and unfolded it, I gave it to his Majesty, who at first view, said, This is the Queen's Hand. Then I opened the rest, and deliver'd them to his Majesty, who was much more pleas'd than before. Then I was ordered to attend him the next Evening, and I did so privately, as before, there being present, only the Earl of Shrewsbury, and my Lord Sydney; now it was that I received encouragement to go to France again, and carry on the Designs as before, only I was to give the King, and those Lords present, an account, as often as I had opportunity, what I was doing. The King assured me, that great Care was taken, that none but those I knew, had any intimation of my being taken; therefore I might with the more ease excuse my long absence to the Queen in France, and her Correspondents in England, by pretending Sickness, or the like. I answered, That if his Majesty, and those Lords, did think I shou'd be safe, I would go, hoping to do him further Service. It was answer'd to me, They would answer for themselves, and those they intrusted; and as for Mr. Harflet, and Mr. Kitobel, I knew them so well, as to apprehend no Danger from them. Then I resolv'd to go, and the King left the further Direction to those two Noble Lords; and I was furnished with Money, a Pass, and Post-Warrant, which I kept privately; and going to all King James's Friends, as before, they express'd great Joy to see me; and one of them shew'd me two Letters from France, by the Queen's Order, to enquire what was become of me, and diligent had they been, tho' to little or no purpose; for telling them that I had been sick, it pass'd for current, and my staying so long within Doors had altered my Complexion, by which they believed that I had been sick. They were all for posting me away to France again, and had their Letters and Papers as formerly; and the King gave me back all I deliver'd to him; which they

they had, tho' of a long Date ; and as soon as I received all theirs, I carried them to the Secretary, who copied them, and gave me the Originals to carry to *France* ; and accordingly, away I went, hiring a Boat at *Deal*, I landed at *Calis*, where I was met by accident by Father Grey, who, I thought, would have kist me to death for Joy to see me, vowing, he believed I had been dead : But before I landed here, I burnt my Lord *Shrewsbury's* Pass, and found mine from the *French King*, with Monsieur *Piggoe*, with whom I left it. I had a most joyful Reception from all my Friends, but was hardly ever merry my self. I took Post for *St. Germans*, and arriving there, my Heart sunk down, as I thought, just as I entered the Queen's Apartment ; it was not for Fear, but being conscious of my Treachery, I truly wisht I might be betrayed, and rather suffer Death than go on : And as soon as the noises were spread in Court of my being arrived, my Acquaintance came running to see me, and observed abundance of cordial Love and Affection from the Carriage of them all. The Dutches of *Powis*, on whom I waited first, and made my Excuses, went immediately to the Queen, and I was called into the Bed-Chamber ; her Majesty had been told something of the cause of my absence by the Dutches ; and she received me more graciously than ever, saying my being come was sufficient Excuse ; and she was sorry I had been sick. I delivered my Papers, and staid with the Queen above an Hour, then went to my Lodging, and at Night appeared at the Queen's Supper, and every Morning I went to Mass, as I formerly did, and was on all occasions, as frequent in the Chappel, and Parish-Church, (where the Queen went very often) as I used to be heretofore ; I went also to Confession, but the Sacrament I did not receive ; I could easily avoid that, by reason I always confessed in Father *Sabran's* own Lodgings, which were at the upper Part of the Castle ; and in the Church of *Rome*, every one that pleases, at their own peril, may kneel down before the Rales of the Altars, and the Sacrament is given after every Mass, so it is hard to know if a Person does receive or not, unless you see them. The Queen commanded me to go to Monsieur *Lovoy*, as heretofore, and I thought with my self, if he knew but on what

what account I came, I suppose I might go to the Rack, or be broke on the Wheel, instead of kissing the King's Hands. In plain, I was forced to make my self half drunk, whenever I appeared about Business; and being introduced to the King, I found him as free and kind as before; I gave him the best account I could, and received 300 Pistoles more from his own Hands.

I was mighty uneasie in my Mind, and loved extremely to be alone, contemplating with my self, I said, *What am I doing! I am in the Service of three Kings, how shall I behave my self, and have a good Conscience?* I resolved at last upon this expedient, to keep a strict Fast three Days together, to spend all the time I could in my Devotion, to make an humble Contrition for my past Sins, and to resolve, by God's Grace, never to commit them again; after this was done, to put two Names, *James* and *William* into a Book, to Blind-fold my self, and then lay the Book down, afterwards walk three times round the room, then take the Book up, and shake it, and that Name which fell nearest to me, that King would I serve; and doing this, *William* fell as close to me as might be; this, how foolish soever, strengthened my Resolutions a little; however, I constantly pray'd to Almighty God, to direct me in the right, and preserve me therein. And after a Month, I was to come for *England* again with Letters as before; but now the Scene was changed, and *England* that I feared before, is now become my Place of Refuge. The Queen giving me her Letters, and other Papers, I came briskly away for *England*, and landed wide of *Dover*, to the West-ward. I directed my Course straight for *London*, and went immediately to my Lord *Shrewsbury*, and my Lord *Sidney*, and was privately introduced by them to the King, who received me graciously, and to his own Hand I delivered all my Letters and Papers, which his Majesty, and those Lords read and copied, then they were returned to me again, and I very orderly delivered them as they were directed.

Here it may be objected, That it was much the Queen should send her Letters open, to which, give me leave to reply, That no Man on Earth could be so Fool-hardy, as to bring such a number of Letters sealed and made up,
which

which could no ways be concealed, in case he were searched, of which, those on such Expeditions, are in danger very often; no, it is unreasonable to expect it, and by so doing, they not only run the hazard of their own Lives, but the danger of exposing the whole Business they are about; besides, the receiving of every such a Letter is high Treason, and if my Life be in the Bearer's power, surely he can have no great Secret that is comparable to that, and for this reason the late King and Queen employed but very few; and you see the main reason.

Those that received them, gave me their Answers in like manner, and it was left to me to see them made up in Moulds of Buttons, or put them into other obscure Places, as suited best to the quantity of Paper, and my other conveniencies. These Answers I had again, and shewed them all to the King and his Ministers: There were mighty Projects carrying on, for raising Men and Money, in order to restore the late King *James*, and depose King *William* and Queen *Mary*: It would be endless to descend to Particulars, but if you please to look back into those Times, and consider *Dundee's* Rebellion in *Scotland*, the several Attempts and Designs of the *French*, to land an Army in *England*, and many other unhappy Accidents that were visible enough, all may convince you, that the Court of *France* was not at such great Expence for nought, nor were their Adherents amongst us idle in their Adventures: However, at that time, King *William* so well approved of my Service, that I was offered any Sum of Money I could desire for my Encouragement, and had I been wise for my self, I might have made my own Fortune, but I found the Game, and others got it. I brought from *France*, this time, several large Bills of Exchange, which were wink'd at, and that with good reason, as you will shortly find, for a great Design was now on foot, and had it been too soon defeated, another might have been hatcht at a dangerous time, and the depressing of this, when it was just ripe, might prove of very unhappy Consequence for the King and Nation's Safety. His Majesty, when I had got my Dispatches for *France* back from his Ministers, ordered me to proceed thither again, as I had lately done: I was now in, and like a hardened Sinner, grew more careless

less of my Dangers than before: I went off from the River of *Thames*, and seemed to fear as much danger as formerly, but, in truth, my Apprehensions were most in *France* for some times, there I did a little think of the *Bastile*, Hanging, and so forth; however, I was landed safe (a second time since I commenced Spy) at *Callis*, and I caroused with my Friends foolishly, to put away Fear by drowning my Senses; I know not whether or no my Proceedings were of God's Appointment, but with sorrow I relate it, that my Life was much more debauched than formerly.

However, I had still the good Fortune to be well received by the Queen at *St. Germans*; and she did not in the least imagine that King *William* had seen the Papers which I brought her, several of which I was sent again to communicate to *Monfieur Lovoy*, and he introduced me to the *French King*. After this, I stayed some Weeks at *St. Germans*, diverting my self with *Mr. Abel*, (the famous Singer, now in *England*) and several other brisk Sparks about the Court; only one Day, *Father Sabran* sending for me in great haste, as we were alone, *Alas my Child!* says he, *what have you done?* I have here a Letter from *England*, (upon which Words I presently imagined, that I was discovered, and standing very mute, in no small concern to hear him proceed) by which, says he, I understand you are grown a great Drinker, and that your Sickness in *England* was got by drinking very hard, where you were upon the *Queen's Business*. O, thinks I, if this be all, I matter not; then he gave me ghostly Advice, which I received with a pensive Look, for I was not easily recovered from the Fright he put me in. I grew weary of this kind of timorous Living, and thought that all the Kings in the World should hardly get me into *France* again, if I got safe out this time; and to my great Comfort, I had Orders from the Queen to depart suddenly, with another Cargo of Letters, and some Commissions that came from the King in *Ireland*, and these having great Seals to them, I brought them tied up in the Bag in which I put my Hair when I traveled; and I got safe to *London* in four Days; then went to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, &c. and was conducted to the King at *Kensington*, where, as before, I shewed him all my Papers, and the Commissions, and they being copied,

copied, I had the Originals back again for to deliver, which I was very sorry for, by reason I thought it was a plain sign of the King's intending I should go to *France* again, and so it proved, for I was immediately desired to venture once more, and then, according to the consequence of the Letters, in all likelihood, the whole Designs would come to a period, for Summer was now approached, and the *French* Fleet and Forces in a great readiness, and matters in *England* looked favourably for their Reception, I mean amongst their own Party: Well! I resolved to try t'other Touch, but an old Saying stuck plaguily in my Stomach, *Beware of the third time.* However, I was resolved to venture, and got all the Letters I was to carry, and away I went to my old Acquaintance at *Deal*, and for 50 Guineas had a good Boat: I went off in the Night-time, and landed the next Morning at *Callis*, where I found several *English* Gentlemen, viz. *Renold Grayham Esq;* *Major Wood*, and others, who having no Pass from the *French* Court, were detained there, and I had the same Fortune, for having carried my Pass to *England* with me, by meer Forgetfulness, I had left it there, and notwithstanding I was so well known in *Callis*, the Governour told me, If I were the greatest Lord in the World, he could not let me go until he had seen my Pass, therefore I was obliged to continue there, but sent most of my material Papers by the Post to the Queen, and writ for my Pass, desiring those other *English* Gentlemen might be inserted in the same, they having stayed near three Weeks without any Answer from Court; but in a few Days my Pass came, and they were inserted as I desired. These Gentlemen were unfortunate Companions, for they drank very hard, and thereby flung themselves and me into a Fever; and honest Father Grey was as true a Topper as any of the Company, as was also the other Priest, one Father *John Kelly*, an *Irish*-man and a Friar, who came from *Spain*, and was taken Prisoner out of a *Spanish*-Ship, which stranded near *Callis* in the Night-time, and all the Men, being *Spaniards*, were kept Prisoners in *Callis*, save this swinging Friar, who had the liberty of the Town, upoh the interest of his Country-man Grey. This Priest was also bound for *St. Germans*, but had no Money, and the rest of my Companions had spent all theirs, so that I had

I had the whole charge upon me of their Journey to *Paris*, or they must have stayed a long time for Returns; and here I borrowed the first Money that ever I had on that Score, of one Mr. *Byrne*, a *French* Merchant, but a Native of *Ireland*, the Sum was but twelve Pistoles, for I had forty of my own, which I distributed amongst them, to each an equal Share, and not having perfectly recovered my late Sickness, I went for *Paris* with them in the Stage-Coach, and by the way, we had a great deal of Diversion with our Friar, who was drunk constantly every Night, and would fain have engaged me to debauch a Woman in our Company, who was going to *Paris*, in order to shut her self up in a Cloyster there; but I must not omit to tell you, that when I was at *Callis*, the Merchant of whom I borrowed the Money, told me, that he designed to take a Trip for *England*, in a Ship that he had bought, in order to carry over some *French* Goods, and to make a return, and therefore desired me, if I knew any of the late King's Friends, that were in any Post to do him service, that I would give him a Letter to them for that purpose; a sudden Thought came into my Head, that this might be a main opportunity to serve King *William*, and the Nation, (for the Spark had a much greater Design than barely his Merchandise) therefore since I knew my stay in *France* was likely to be very short, and that he would not suddenly sail for *England*, as I had begun, and was heartily zealous to defeat all *French* Designs, I resolved to give him such a Letter, as by his credulity might deliver him into the Hands of a worthy Person, who was entrusted with the Command and Government of a Place most likely for this *Byrne* to come to; and having heard that Captain *Crayford*, then Deputy-Governour of *Sheerness*, but now Governour, was a Person well-affected to King *William*, and his Interest, tho' I had no personal Knowledge of him, I thought I might venture to write him a Letter of seeming Recommendation of this Man, which he must in course have seen was done on purpose to betray him into the Hands of Justice, and to detect his treasonable Design; And accordingly I gave my Merchant a Letter to Captain *Crayford*, Deputy-Governour of *Sheerness*; which Letter afterwards fell into the Secretary of State's Hands, and occasioned, as you shall

shall presently find, much Dispute in the privy Council, and many hot Arguments amongst abundance of Noblemen, and others, in this Kingdom, and for the favour of this Letter, the Merchant, Mr. *Byrne*, sent me a Present of six Dozen Bottles of rich Canary ; but I must return to our Journey to *Paris*, and, by the way, tell you, that our Coach held about a dozen People, and had a Basket or Cradle before, which carried four more ; and the second Day of our Journey, my self, with Mr. *Grayham*, Major *Wood*, and the Priest, must needs ride in the Basket, for the benefit of the Air, but going down a Hill, just before we came to the City of *Abberville*, our Carross was over-turn'd, and Major *Wood* had the misfortune to break his Arm ; but we that were well got up, and looking in at the Boot of the Coach, to see how they fared, found a strange Medley, for they lay in a heap, and a Woman standing upon her Head, with her Legs upright, her Thighs and all being bare. Major *Wood's* Servant, a brisk young Fellow, had got by chance, I suppose, his Head betwixt her Thighs, and his Nose just upon her Nolegay, which put us all into such a Fit of Laughter, that we had no power to help them ; and the Coachman, who at first was Cursing and Swearing, upon the sight of this, stood laughing, and holding his Sides, until some of the People were even smothered. We left Mr. *Wood* at *Abberville*, and proceeded next Day on our Journey to *Paris*, where I had Money lodged, and supplied my Company afresh, and the next Day we went to *St. Germans*, where I found the Queen very angry, for my having kept such debauched Company, as Mr. *Grayham* was ; but I told her Majesty we had a Friar with us, who was come to *St. Germans* on purpose to see her Majesty and the Prince, and the very Name of this Man, stopt the current of the Queen's Anger : Good Lady ! She thought he was a Saint, tho' I knew, if Whoring, Swearing, Drinking, and lewd Discourse could make a Man a Devil, he was in as fair a way to be one, as any Man that ever I met with in all my Life. During my stay this time at Court, I had the Honour, five or six times, to wait on the Queen to *Versailles*, to *Marli*, and once to a Play acted by religious Ladies, at which the whole Court of *France* was present, and a most glorious Appearance

pearance there was ; but the Queen, who had for Attendance in the Coach with her, Madam the Princess *du Conti*, the Dutchess of *Powis*, and my Lady *Sophia Buckley*, had the Misfortune to be over-turned in her Journey thither, and it happed in a dismal wet Place, insomuch that the Gentlemen who took the Queen and the Ladies out of the Coach, were up to their Knees in Water and Dirt, and her Majesty, the Princess, and other Ladies, who were dressed all in new Robes, and those as richly adorned with Jewels, &c. as well could be, were in a miserable wet and dirty Condition, insomuch that they were obliged to send for other Cloaths, and clean Linnen. I remember, the Queen, as soon as she was out, said to the Princess, *Madam, a little while hence, we may, no doubt, see the News of our being over-turn'd, in the Dutch-Gazette.* However, when the French King, the Dauphin, and the Queen met, they had great laughing at the Accident, and so nimble was the Fancy of a Priest, Author of the Play, that Day to be acted, that in his Prologue, which was a high Encomium on the Court, he took notice of the same, which gave a great delight to that glorious Audience. And now Summer was coming on, the French Fleet, consisting of Ninety six Men of War, besides Fireships and Tenders, with about Seven hundred Transports, were going ready in order to sail for the English Coast, with Thirty five thousand Men, and to endeavour to land them there : The Plot began to work-up, and ready to break-out ; and the Queen her self told me, Fuller, *I reserve you for the greatest Service, and you shall not go any more for England, until I send you with the King's Commissions to his best Friends, and these are not to go until the French Fleet is ready to sail, which will be very speedily.* In the mean time I took my Pleasure ; and a Squadron of Men of War being ordered to sail with 7000 Men, under the Command of Count *de Laxon*, by a Stratagem, I contrived to send a Letter to Major *Kitchel*, that he might give King *William* timely notice of the same, which I accomplished by the Hands of Father *Lock*, who coming for *England*, I gave him my Letter to Major *Kitchel's* Father-in-law, who was a reputed *Jacobite*, but in the Main quite otherwise ; and the Major and I had beforehand concluded upon a particular Key, whereby to understand

stand each other, and others should not, although my Letter had been opened ; but the Father, little suspecting me, sent my Letter, as it was directed, by a Porter, and it came safe to the Major's Hands, and was carried afterwards, by my Lord Romney, to the King ; it had been of greater Service than it was, had not our *English* Ships been most unfortunately neglected, so that a Squadron could not be got out in time.

And shortly after this, *Matthew Crone* arrives from *Ireland*, by the way of *England*, being a Stranger at *St. Germans* ; when he came into the Queen's Apartment, I was standing by the Fire-side, in the Withdrawing-room, talking with some Gentlemen, as *Crone* came in, looking about him ; and being somewhat ruff in his Garb, I thought he was come with Letters, and looking at him, he said, *Sir, how may I let the Queen know that I have Business to impart to her, and that I come from Ireland ?* I presently replied, That if he pleased to go with me, I would conduct him to one that would instantly inform the Queen ; then going to the Bed-chamber-door, I scraped with a Key, (as the Custom is) and a Lady came to me, to whom I presented Mr. *Crone* ; but she said the Queen was in her Closet, and she could not disturb her : I reply'd, *Madam, will you give me leave, and I will tell the Queen here is one from Ireland :* She bid me do as I thought fitting ; and I doing so, her Majesty came forth immediately, and I withdrew for a while, then was called in again ; the Queen commanding me to provide a Lodging for Mr. *Crone*, and to be careful to get him accommodated, for he could speak no *French*, nor did he know one Soul there. I took him to my own Apartment, and we dwelt together during our stay, and contracted a very sincere Friendship and Correspondence, (which nothing but the publick Good of my Country should cause me to break.) I went with him to *Paris*, to *Versailles*, and we took Mr. *Abel* with us, for he and I were always very intimate ; and I omitted nothing to divert Mr. *Crone*, and he kept no Secret, and Passage of his Adventures, in the King's Service, from me ; so that by corresponding with him, I came by the knowledge of several Affairs, which were afterwards of great service to King *William*.

At this time, all in *France* thought nothing so Cock-sure, as the speedy Restoration of the King; they hardly made the least scruple but it must be so; and truly, as matters stood, I could hardly guess which side would be uppermost, for the King was seemingly strong in *Ireland*, a great Number of Men were lifted in *England*, and so many Men of Figure, as well here, as in *Scotland*, had promised mighty Assistance to the *French*-Arms, whenever they had the opportunity to joyn them; and notice being given, that the *French*-Fleet was compleately mann'd, and fitted out, and lay only waiting for a fair Wind, that they might joyn and set Sail together, I had Orders to be in a readiness with Mr. *Crone*, to depart for *England* at an Hours warning: And when Advice was come, that the said Fleet was under Sail, and the Forces ready to be embarked on board the *Transports*; upon this Advice, one *Sunday*-night I was sent for, in great haste, to attend the Queen before her Supper, which doing, she told me I must go for *England* the next Morning, and by reason she had many Papers to send over, with Letters, and Commissions under the great Seal, she did intend to order Mr. *Crone* to go over with me, for she thought it neither expedient nor safe, to venture so many Papers with one Man, who would find it impossible to conceal them; and further, *Crone* knew several of the King's Adherents, whom I was a Stranger unto, therefore her Majesty ordered me to let him know, that he must attend her also after Supper, which we did accordingly, and I was called in first, and received my Papers and Instructions, the Buttons being all marked and made-up; but I had also a great many other Papers, and some of the Commissions; then Mr. *Crone* was called in, and received his Charge, and the Queen ordered us both to be very careful of our Business, forasmuch as all the King's Affairs, and a great many hundred Lives depended on our Success with those Papers: She commanded us to be free with each other, and that he should intrust any with any Secret of our Affairs, that I should recommend unto him. And we had also several large Bills of Exchange, which were payable in *London*, for great Sums of Money; and, in short, our Instructions were so many, that we were

from

from nine at Night, to four in the Morning, in receiving them from the Queen's own Mouth and Hands.

We took Post immediately, and came to *Callis* in about thirty Hours, where we could get no Boat, until the next Day, to carry us to *England*, but then the Governour pressed one for us, which set us on Shore on *Romney-Marsh*, near the *Light-House*, four Miles from *Lidd*; the Night being extremely dark, we were in great danger of falling into the Ditches, but with much difficulty we came safe to the *Light-House*, where two old Fellows entertained us with the best Fare they had, and a dirty Bed; but we were weary, and could sleep any where; our pretence was, that we were on board an *English Ship*, bound West-ward, but having received Letters from *London*, just as we came from the *Downs*, we had got ashore there, but that the Sea run so high, it was impossible, but finding it calm here at the Point, the Ship's boat set us on shore; and that we had Relations near *Tenterden*; and this Story was believed, at least, they would not dispute it with us; so the next Morning early we walked to the next Farm-house, and got Horses, and having rid to a Village, a few Miles further up the Country, we quitted those Horses, and took fresh ones, and each of us had a Guide, for here we separated to prevent danger. Mr. *Crone* took his Road to *London* by the *Wild of Kent*, to *Tunbridge*, &c. and I came by *Canterbury*, where I took Post, and came as fast as I could, and being arrived in Town, I went immediately to my Lords of *Shrewsbury* and *Romney*, and was by them instantly conducted to the King at *Kensington*, to whose Royal Hand I delivered all my Papers, which his Majesty wondred at, not thinking the *French* had been in such readiness; and he was then ready to depart for *Ireland*, but finding that it was now high time to use all publick means for the security of his Government, his Majesty gave Directions to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and my Lord *Sidney*, now Earl of *Romney*, to use some expedient for the apprehending of *Crone*, in such wise, that he should be brought to condign Punishment, in case he should not make an ingenuous Confession of all he knew. At this time I brought over a Parcel of Letters writ obscurely, which there is several Methods of doing, but by reason this is most remark-

able, I shall crave leave to repeat the Manner of Writing, and of the Discovering the same, which I observe the rather, (tho' it is, I confess, mentioned in my former Book) by reason the King was pleased to say, That he thought it beyond the Power or Art of Man to invent such a Method for Writing, which could hardly be imagined or conceived by any that did not actually see it performed : But I proceed to the Effects, tho' it is not expedient to tell the several Ingredients that compose it, only I may venture to say, without discovering the whole Secret, That it is made up of several sorts of sulphurous Matter, (some liquid) and has in it the Dust of divers Metals, which are all boyled a great many Hours, and after other Methods, the Liquor with which you write is fine and clear, and you may use it with a common Pen, made of a Goose-quil, or with a Brass-Pen, and in less than a Minute after you have writ, it vanishes, and nothing is to be seen but the clear Paper, insomuch that when your Letter is writ, you must have a Pot of Charcoal, and heat some of the same Stuff, you write with, thereon, which creates a great Steam, and a noisom Smell, which instantly produces the Writing as plain and fair as any Ink that ever was used.

Those Letters I gave the King of this sort, were disguised by a long Preamble of Compliments, writ on the first side of a gilt Sheet of Paper. His Majesty knew the Hand that writ it, and wondred the late Queen should give her self the trouble of sending Compliments only : But I gave him to understand, that the matter of Fact was writ on the other side ; upon this, the King looking on the plain clean Paper, as he thought, nay saw, was pleased to say, *Why here's nothing* : Then I craved leave to have Fire, and an earthen Vessel to put thereon, and I should cause the Writing to appear. This was put off until the next Morning, and then I performed the Experiment in the King's Presence, who was so well pleased therewith, that he sent immediately to desire the Queen to come on his side ; and her Majesty expressed all imaginable satisfaction of my Services, and much admired that Invention ; then demanded who was the Author, and how I came by the Knowledge of it ; to which I answered, That I heard the late Queen say, a Scotch Priest was the Inventor ;

ventor ; and the said Queen giving me the Receipt for making the Preparation, which I was to impart to some great Men in *England*, I had not only copied the said Receipt, but several times prepared and tried the Experiment. Then their Majesties commanded me never to impart it to any, which Command I have, and will faithfully obey ; tho' I am always ready to perform the Experiment to any Gentleman that desires it. Now follows the mannèr of apprehending Mr. *Crone*, which was contrived by the two Noble Lords, before-mentioned, at my Lord *Sydney's* House ; as soon as I came back from the King, they consulted it, and from them I went directly to Mr. *Crone's* Lodging, at Madam *Clifford's*, a zealous Papist, whose Husband was a Brigadier with King *James* in *Ireland* ; coming to her House, a Servant met me at the Door, of whom I asked if Mr. *White* was there, (that being the Name *Crone* went by) the Servant immediately, without replying, went and informed his Lady, who coming out of her Parlour smiling, said, *Sir, I know who you mean, and who you are ; but the Gentleman is not within, nor will he until late this Night ; if you please to come in the Morning, I am sure he will stay for you, since, to my knowledge, he is impatient to see you.* I promised to come in the Morning ; and then went back to the Lords, who appointed to meet again the next Day ; before I returned to see *Crone*, I waited on them again, at my Lord *Sydney's* House ; then took a Chair in *German-street*, and went in it to Madam *Clifford's*, who her self came immediately to me, desiring me to walk up Stairs ; then entering a Chamber, she pulls back the Curtains, saying, *There Mr. Fuller, there is your Friend* ; this awakned Mr. *Crone* out of his Sleep, and with Joy we embraced each other, though mine was *Judas* like ; then the Lady withdrawing, he told me, That he had delivered many of his Papers, and should suddenly deliver the rest ; but I prevented him, saying, *This Evening you must meet me about the matter of Eight thousand Pounds, which I pretended two Friends of mine would advance for King James's use.* I had before told the Queen the same Story, and she relying on it, had ordered *Crone* to dispose of it to a particular use : However, this Bait took, and he offered to meet me any where that I should think fitting to appoint ;

and I desired that it might be at the *Bull-head Tavern* in *Wood street*, at 6 that Evening, which was accordingly agreed upon; and taking my leave of him for that time, I went back to the Lords, who stayed for my coming, and I told them what progress I had made; upon this, it was resolved by them, that Major *Kitchel*, and Mr. *Harflet* should personate the Persons I had named, that were to advance the Eight thousand Pounds: The first was to go by the Name of *Allwyn*, and the other by his own; and accordingly they went with me to the *Bull-head*, where a Constable was provided, with one *Richard Ford*, a Barber, since a Serjeant, who staying below, had the Warrant, and were to observe my Orders, for the time and manner of Execution. We had not been there above half an Hour, but *Crone* came, and after a Glass or two had gone round, he said, *Gentlemen, we cannot be free in our Discourse here, the Room being small, we are in danger of being over-heard*; so proposed for to remove to the *Ship Tavern* in *Gracious-street*, to which all agreed, and I took first an opportunity to ask for the Necessary-house, so going down, told the Constable, and Mr. *Ford*, that they must go away immediately to the *Ship Tavern* in *Gracious-street*, and wait our coming, and the Directions I should give them, which being done, we took Coach and went there, when at our entring, *Crone* asked if he might have the Great-Room up two Pair of Stairs, the Drawer reply'd, *Yes Sir*, and up we went; then began briskly to drink the King, Queen, and Prince's Health, &c. and *Crone* was very free in his Discourse, telling the Company how soon *King James* would be restored to his Kingdoms again, and what great things he would do for those that had served him; he told them how many Thousand Men were lifted for *King James* in *England*; how many Hundred Horses were provided against the Descent from *France*, and what Preparations were made in order thereunto; and that the *French-Fleet* were coming with a powerful Army to invade *England* in three several Places at once; this, and abundance more such like treasonable Discourse was our Subject for some time, at length we began to talk of the Eight thousand Pounds; then my Friends said they would immediately give Bills for it, and writ such accordingly, and pretending to desire me to

go to the Banker in *Lumbard-street*, to have them accepted; I went down, and instead thereof gave Advice to the Constable, and Mr. *Ford*, how they should follow after me, up Stairs, at a little distance of time; then one of them entering with a Note in his Hand, should enter, asking leave to speak to Mr. *Harflet*, who sat at the upper-end of a long Table, and *Crone* at his Right-hand, which he performed accordingly, and going behind *Crone*, Mr. *Ford* seized him by the Arms, at which, the Constable, and others entred, pretending to seize me also; and putting us into several Coaches, we were carried down to *Whitehall*, and it being late, Mr. *Crone* was kept all Night under a strict Guard, and I sent with several Messengers to search his Lodgings, and coming to Madam *Clifford's*, she was in a violent rage, and seeing me, she was like a mad Woman, and apprehended what was become of her Friend *Crone*; but we found no Papers in his Lodgings, and but few about him. I was mighty sorry for my Friend as a Friend; and going next Morning to my Lord *Shrewsbury's* Office, when he was examining, and denying his being in *France*; tho' he had put the most ingenious Trick upon my Lord, some time before, yet he confidently withstood all they questioned him about, until, by chance, the Office-door being open just as I passed by, he saw me with my Sword on, and without any Keepers, which so struck him, that he was hardly able to speak; and, I confess, to see him in that Trouble, dejected my very Soul.

He was sent to the *Tower*, and kept very close Prisoner, and had the Ministers of State with him several times, perswading all that in them lay, to save his own Life, by making an ingenuous Confession of what he knew, but all was attempted to no purpose. I shall leave him here, until I come to his Tryal, and now proceed to relate what has made a great noise, as I before hinted at, concerning Colonel *Crayford*, Governour of *Sheerneß*, to whom, amongst other Papers, I brought a Letter from the late Queen in *France*, in the pipe of a Key, which I delivered to the King, and was after *Crone's* Tryal, ordered to carry the same to Mr. *Crayford*, who was then only Deputy-Governour of *Sheerneß*, to try if he would accept of it: Now Major

Kitchel knew the whole matter, and living at *Milton*, he had, I suppose, a design to get *Mr. Crayford's* Place, for he was very forward in this matter ; and much, I fear, he was the Author of it ; for at my last going to *France*, he, and his Uncle *Harflet*, having my Papers to view before they were made up, a Letter, as from *Mr. Crayford*, was put up amongst them, which I knew nothing of ; the Queen finding it asked me how I came by it ; I knew not what to say, but for fear, urged that I had it from a good Hand, and I doubted not but the Contents were truth ; upon my Assertion, (I pray God forgive it) the Queen writes him a supposed Answer, which I could not conceal ; and on the other Hand, I could not charge *Mr. Kitchel* with the having writ that to the Queen ; I was in a mighty straight, but the innocent Gentleman, *Mr. Crayford*, was on his Guard, and when I came to him, he would not receive any Letter from *France*, which shewed his Integrity, and convinced me, that both he and I were abused in the matter ; but whether *Harflet* or *Kitchel* contrived it, I know not, and unwilling I was to charge them, they being Relations, and pretended the highest degree of Friendship. And here we may observe the Providence of God, for this matter being debated before the Privy Council, my Letter, that I formerly writ, was produced, I mean, that I gave to *Mr. Byrne* at *Callis*, directed to *Mr. Crayford* ; for *Byrne* being taken up in *England*, the Letter was found about him ; and this Letter gave a Suspicion, that I was engaged in the endeavouring the Ruin of that worthy Gentleman ; but God knows, I knew him not, only by Name, nor was I sure my Friends had done it, tho', in all manner of likelihood, none but them could write in his Name to the Queen. I heartily ask *Colonel Crayford's* pardon for not making this Confession before ; but what I relate is matter of Fact, and I bless God that it did not prove to his Disadvantage. When I carried him the Letter, he received me civilly, but started when I named a Letter from the Queen in *France* ; He took it, but told me he must confine me as a Prisoner, until he had sent it to the Secretary of State : Then I shewed him a Warrant from my Lord *Shrewsbury*, requiring all Officers, Military and Civil, to permit me to pass in any Part of this Kingdom,

without

without controale, and I was not to be confined upon any account whatever, without first giving notice to the Privy-Council : However, I was kept in the Garrison, until Colonel *Crayford* sent a general Post to *Whitehall*, and I had very kind Entertainment in the mean time, having an Officer to attend me ; and when the Gentleman came back, I was discharged, and treated at my departure ; and I made a true Report of my Reception, when I came to the King, my Business having now made a great Noise in the World, and abundance of Persons being put into the *Tower*, and all other Prisons in *England*.

The King went for *Ireland*, and the matter was further prosecuted by the Queen's Direction and Inspection. Mr. *Crone* was ordered to be Tried, but an unhappy Accident prevented it. I call it unhappy, by reason I suffered more than a Martyr on the Rack ; for if Physicians have any Skill, and those not the meanest, as Dr. *Lower*, and others, they gave their Opinion, that I was poisoned, and lay seven Weeks without moving Hand or Foot, but as I was helped by my Nurses, &c. My Hair came off, and my Nails also changed their Colour : And, after all, Mr. *Tho. White* confessed, that he, for a large Bribe, gave me the Dose in a Dish of *Scotch-Porridge* ; this was done with a design to prevent *Crone's* Tryal : But beyond the Expectation of all that saw me, I recovered in *June*, about the latter end of that Month, and immediately Mr. *Crone* was Tried at the *Old-Baily*, before all the Judges of *England*. His Tryal lasted several Days, by reason of a Dispute, first concerning a Mistake committed by the Fore-man of the Grand Jury's, misspelling the Word *Vera*, (he was a *Dutch* man originally.) At another time Mr. *Crone* excepted against so many that were returned upon the Jury, that there was not enough left ; but he afterwards had a fair Hearing, an honourable Jury, and was found guilty : The only Exception was made by one of the Jury, who stood out (as he lately told me in *Bridewell*) against eleven of his Brethren the Jury-men, all the Judges in *England* were engaged upon the Argument, *That no Man, being in a Plot, should be an Evidence against any other of the Conspirators.* This his Pretence, though confuted by my Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, and other Judges, yet he

he maintained it so long, that two or three of the Jury died, for, as I remember, he held out then near 48 Hours, and those Gentlemen being antient, did not many Days survive it ; but himself was provided, for he had store of Sweet-meats, &c. And Madam *Clifford*, before mentioned, was taken flinging him Papers of good Things in at the Window : As for what I gave in Evidence against him, it was the most material, and of great consequence. The Court was then pleased to say very kind things of me, and *Crone* ingenuously confessed, That I had said nothing against him but what was truth ; this is apparently known to the greatest Men in the Kingdom. And *Crone* was condemned, but had many Reprieves ; so, for the present, I shall leave discoursing of him, and trace my own hard Fate, which began soon after this.

I had a great desire to go into the Army in *Ireland*, where the King was, and my Lord *Shrewsbury* having quitted his Employ at Court, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Nottingham*, then Secretary of State, writ to the King, or some near him, for leave for me to go to *Ireland*, which was granted, and the Queen gave me a good Sum of Money for to defray my Charges. I prepared a handsome Equipage, consisting of several Servants, Horses, and the like, and was every way richly accounted ; so to *Chester* I went, and on my way thither, I overtook the Lord *Kingston* of *Ireland*, who was going thither ; we joyned Company, and traveled, and also stayed together at *Chester*, then went over to *Ireland*, under one Convoy, and had several Gentlemen of that Kingdom in our Company, and a remarkable Person : We landed near *Rings-end* by *Dublin*, which was newly taken by King *William* ; and his Majesty was at *Chapel-Izard*, where I waited on him, and kist his Hand before he went for his Camp near *Golden-Bridge*, and afterwards before *Limrick*. The King's so sudden departure from *Dublin*, prevented my waiting on him, by reason my Horses were just come from on Ship-board, and I had no Tents, nor other Necessaries for the Field in a readiness, but was ordered to follow as soon as I could : But whilst I was at *Dublin*, going one Day with the Governour into the Castle, I saw my old Acquaintance, Major *Graham*, walking there,
he

he being a Prisoner that was taken with several others at the *Boyne*. We saluted each other, and must not part without a Bowl of Punch, after that another, and in short, I promised to do my endeavour to get his Liberty, which I obtained by my interest, and he having in his Company a *French Officer*, who was a Prisoner also, and had a great deal of Money by him, this Man proffered me Fifty Pistoles, provided I would obtain his Freedom also, and a Pass to go for *England*: I took the Money, but in less than a Week spent that, and as much more of my own by riotous Living with Mr. *Graham*, and others. I had many things to buy, as Tents and the like, which cost me near an Hundred Pounds, including my Horses for Carriages, and having wasted my Stock, and *Graham* being poor, he put me upon borrowing 30 *l.* of an Acquaintance of his, a Grocer, who is nick-named, *Gingerbread-Tom*; he had most of this Money; and I went to the King before *Limrick*, and from thence waited on his Majesty to *Waterford*, where, before he embarked for *England*, was graciously pleased to order, that I should have a Commission for Captain of a Troop of Horse; this Direction was left by the King with my Lord *Sidney*, who stayed as one of the Lords Justices of *Ireland*. And when the King was gone off to Sea, I waited on my Lord to *Cashel*, where the General Count *Solmes* met him; then my Lord presented me to him, and told me the King's Orders, so I was desired to stay in the Army, and my Commission should suddenly be given me; but my Lord being gone, two Days after Count *Solmes* told me, He was sorry there was no Commission for a Captain to be had at present, there being no vacancy, therefore desired me, for a short time, to accept of a Cornet's: At this I huff away, and said I would have none then. - So to *Dublin* I came, and made my Complaint to my Lord *Sidney*; he told me I must have patience, and truly I had a little, until I had spent about 500 *l.* I mean, from the time of my first coming over. Then I grew weary of *Ireland*, and left two fine Horses, that cost me 50 *l.* for 20 Guineas. I came away with the rest of my Equipage, leaving the 30 *l.* I formerly borrowed, unpaid, and when I came to *Chester*, I met with the Apothecary of the Army, who paid me much Honour, and of him I borrowed five Guineas;

Guineas ; then set forward for *London*, and lodged in the *Pall-mall*, at a Widows, going to Court every Day ; and I had Money paid me frequently by the King's Command, from the privy Purse, and an Employ was promised me in the Guards, by which means I got the Name of Colonel, tho' I never had the Commission, but I lived in hopes of mighty things, and spent the Devil and all in following the Court ; I gave rich Liveries, had several Servants, and followed all Fashions, and like others, run into Trades-mens debts : Every Birth-Day, or Ball-night, I had all new. I was a good Benefactor to the Play-House, and never missed any opportunity of being amongst the Ladies. I lodged afterwards at a Pastry Cook's in the *Pall Mall*, paid them some Money, and had some Credit ; then the King going for *Holland*, to the Congress at the *Hague*, I must go there also, and by reason every one made the best Appearance they well cou'd ; I resolved not to be behind all, therefore takes up Fourteen hundred Pounds on my Estate, which was newly come into my Hands, and receiving about 300 Pounds more from the privy Purse, I set up my Coach, and had livery Servants in abundance ; I made me twelves Sutes of Cloaths, and my Waistcoats were, the worst of them, of silver Struffs, of about forty Shillings the Yard, so that at the *Hague* I made no small Figure. I was indeed civilly treated by the Nobility, and the King himself was graciously pleased frequently to speak to me, and I had always hopes of great Things being done for me. The *Hague* proved a most extravagant dear Place, and I paid ten Guineas per Week for my bare Lodgings, and as soon as the Congress was over, I, with a great many more, having spent all our Money, came sneaking to *England*, whilst the King was gone to *Flanders*, in order to relieve *Mons*, which the *French* had besieged : At coming home, I return'd to my former Lodging in the *Pall-Mall*, and increased my Score there ; and about this time I owed in all about Five hundred Pounds, and my Creditors knowing that I had mortgaged my Estate, one of them, Mr. *Reyner*, and his Partners, at the black Lion in *Covent Garden*, take out a Writ against me, and upon the second Day of *April*, as I was going to Court in my Chair that I hired by the Week, his Bayliffs, in the *Pall-Mall*, there being

being eight of them, stop my Chairmen, open the Chair, and arrest me; I had two Footmen there, but the Bayliffs being so many in number, I was carried to a Spunging-house near *Hatton Garden*, and I sent for my Friends, Mr. *Harflet*, and Mr. *Aaron Smith* the Solicitor, who came, and just as we were going to pay the Money, which was but 40 *l.* *Reyner* had brought every one of my Creditors that he could perswade to enter their Actions also, and my Landlord the Pastry-Cook, he enters against me, and so considerable a Sum I could not suddenly pay, so was advised to go over to the *King's-bench*, which I did, and giving Security to the Marshal, with twenty Guineas, I had my liberty immediately, and then took Lodgings in *Ax-Yard*, where the House I lodged in, was in the Verge of the Court, and there I knew my self safe from Bums. Just at this time hapned the Fire at *Whitehall*, and that Evening I had been a visiting at *Westminster*, and was going to Court in a Chair, to attend at the Queen's Supper, but seeing a great Crowd in *King street*, I call'd to my Footman to enquire the matter; then it was told me *Whitehall* was on Fire; and the Crowd was so great I could not get in with my Chair, so went through *Ax-Yard*, and as I was going up the Back-stairs in the Park, I met about a dozen Ladies coming down, some had all their Hair about their Ears, and in a strange Confusion. I was something dark, but one of them knowing me, said, Mr. *Fuller*: I knew the Lady's Voice, and then I found these were the Queen and her Ladies, and Maids of Honour; they had not one Man with them, for her Majesty had been at the Earl of *Dorset's* Lodgings, to look at the Fire, but knowing they were going to blow up to prevent the spreading of the Fire, she retired thus in haste, intending, as she afterwards did, to go to *Arlington House*. The Queen coming into the Park, wanted a Light, and commanded me to go into *Whitehall*, to tell her Guards (the Yeomen) where she was, and as I was going, I found them running about, and enquiring for the Queen; then I returned with them, and her Majesty was standing by the Dial in the Park, from whence they would not stir, until her Sister, our now Sovereign Lady Queen *Ann*, and his Royal Highness the Prince came to her, which they soon did in great haste: By this time the
Queen's

Queen's Footmen, and other Servants, were come with Lights ; and her Majesty walked very slowly, often turning back to look at the Fire, until several Pieces of Timber, and abundance of Rubbish flew over into the Park : At that second blowing-up, she went then in haste to *Arlington House*, and I was sent back to *Whitehall*, to bring her Majesty word how the Fire was, and how near it had burnt to the King's Apartment, and going out of the Gate into the Park, I hapned to turn short on my Right-hand, and forgetting there was a kind of dry Ditch, I fairly fell down, and was most intollerably stung with the Nettles that grew there, and at my return my Face was in such a condition, that I could hardly see out of my Eyes. The Queen was pleased to demand how I came so in so short a time ; and upon my relating it, Her Majesty, and all the Company laugh'd most heartily. I never saw the Queen more pleasant in all my Life time than she was that Night : And she continued at *Arlington House* until four of the clock in the Morning, and then return'd to *Whitehall*.

Whilst I lodged in *Ax-Yard*, I became acquainted with Dr. *Oats*, who had seen me often before, as I had him, puffing about the Court, but now being Neighbours, we began to grow very intimate ; he invites me to his House to Dinner, and there I met with Mr. *John Tutchin*, and a great many that talked mightily against King *James*, and the best Name they could afford that Prince, was Rogue, and scoundrel Rascal : I never heard such Invectives uttered before, as by these Men. They began to tell me I must be hearty in my Cause, it was a glorious thing to discover a Plot, and he that would serve a Nation, must do as the good Doctor had done, fear no body, but strike at all that stood in his way : They preached up Liberty and Property, and spoke very despicably of all Kings, not sparing him on the Throne ; they said he employed Rogues and Tories, Men that would betray and ruin the Protestant Religion, the King himself, and the civil Rights of the People ; they exclaimed mightily against the Noble Family of the *Finches*, and by their Malice said a thousand horrid things against the greatest of that Name, and told me it was impossible that any of that Family should love me, and it was pity I did not know something
against

against them, as to bring them so into the Plot, as to have them cut off Root and Branch : These things startled me at first, but some considerable Men, as *John Arnold* Esq ; *John Savil* Esq ; and others it is not fitting to name, appearing amongst them, and saying the same things, telling long Stories of what they had done to serve and save the Nation, what they had suffered for the same, and what Danger *England* was yet in. These things made me look on them as Saints, and mighty Patrons for the publick Good. In a short time the Reverend Doctor invites me to come and lodge in his House, and having his first Floor very handsomely furnished, I accepted his Offer, and had room for my Servants also : We had a good Table provided, so I agreed with him to pay fifty Shillings *per Week* for my Diet and Lodging, and the same for two Servants, only I was to find my own Wine, and if a Friend or more came with me, I was to allow as he thought fitting, by which means, after seven Weeks, I became Debtor to him about nine Pounds ; I paid him some Money, but was not strictly careful to discharge all, by reason the Dr. pretended an unspeakable love for me ; and having afterwards some urgent occasions, the Marshal of the *King's-Bench* calling upon me for a fresh Bribe, I borrowed about 5 *l.* of the Dr.

When I was in his House, he, and his Friend *Tutchin*, (whom he almost kept) with the rest of the Gang, prevailed with me to let them see a Copy of my Information to the King, of the whole Plot ; and when they had read it, they shook their Heads, blessing themselves, said, What pity it was, that so good a Plot should be so mangled and spoiled ; and no better used. *Godzooks*, says the Dr. *I would not be served so, you are a Fool Fuller, and a Coxcomb, God's Life I could beat you for having no more Wit : Why I would go to Charles, and tell him his own, nay swear he was in the popish Plot himself, only he knew not that part designed against his own Life, I made him afraid of me ; and his Lords, Lothardel, and the rest, I called them Rogues to their Faces, but you are afraid to speak to them.* At this kind of rate was I baited by him and his Crew, until to avoid them, I returned to my former Lodging over against him, for I could not bear his continual foul Language ; besides, I had a good Pretence
for

for this, for Mr. Aaron Smith, seeing the Dr. and I together one Day, at a Tavern in the City, he fell a swearing at me, for being with the Dr. in publick ; Look you, Mr. Fuller, the Dr. is a good and an honest Man, he saved his Country, and deserves well from all good Men, but there be many at Court who hate him, and so they will you, if you keep him Company ; besides, the Jacobites will say he tutors you ; and if Mr. Crone should confess, you would be set up for a Witness against a great many great Men, and this being with Dr. Oats, will bring such Reflections upon you, that the Tories will take advantage by it ; so you must leave off being seen publickly in his Company, or I shall complain of you to your damage. I was not sorry for all this ; and tho' I left the Doctor's House, yet he would visit me frequently, as did his Retainers, until I began to be as great a Whig as the best of them, being easily deceived by their specious Pretences, and Professions of Vertue, of which, too late I find, they had not one Grain.

The King had been in England during this time, and I waited frequently upon him ; and about the first of May he departed for Holland again, at which time I was too low in the Pocket to go into Flanders ; but having an Order for Money out of the Treasury, I did intend to go into Flanders as soon as I had received it, and at this time I was unfortunately engaged in that unhappy Business of *Dalleval* and *Hayes*, who designed only my Ruin by their specious Pretences, which was fatally accomplished by their Perfidiousness, and my own unhappy Credulity, by which, and the Agitations of these forward mad Men, I was zealous, thinking to serve my Country, and never saw the Snake in the Hedge, nor considered well what I was doing. I had indeed, a good and faithful Admonisher, his Grace *John* late Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, to whom I communicated this matter of *Dalleval* and *Hayes*, but was so confident of them, that I rather chose to run the hazard of my own undoing, than faithfully to tell him all the truth, lest he should decline to forward the matter with the King and Queen, and altho' I saw cause to fear, that if he knew all, he would get them secured, yet I was so stupid and besotted by their Allurements, as to dissemble the matter with his Grace, and thereby took the Thorn from them, to put it into my own Foot.

And

And here begins the great Platform of my Ruin, which by many Ways and Persons, has ever since been compleating; but I shall go on with the Particulars of my Life past; and proceed in order. Having got my Money paid from the Exchequer, I prepared for my Journey to *Flanders*; but the Marshal of the *King's-Bench* having some intimation thereof, and understanding I was one Day to dine in the City, as I was there, and just going to sit down to a good Dinner; his Emissaries came with a civil Message, to desire me to go over to him, which I did not very well like, and my Stomach was quite spoiled: I went with them, and coming to the Marshal, he said, *Sir I cannot help it, I hear you are going for Flanders, and you may be killed there; so to prevent all danger of the Marshal's being sued for your Debt, and your being knockt on the Head, I must confine you into the Prison.* I was mad, but could not help my self; so in I went, had the best Room in the House, for which I paid twelve Shillings a Week; and the worst was, I had remitted almost all my Money to *Holland*, but I sent to my good Lord of *Canterbury* presently, and he the same Night acquainted the Queen; so the next Morning early, Mr. *Dalone*, the Queen's Secretary his Servant came to my Chamber-door, and entring, brought me a Present of 200*l.* in Silver, which was very welcome; and the Turn-key hearing the Money brought in, acquainted Mr. *Farington*, who really was in effect Marshal, and ordered all things in the Office, tho' *William Brigg's* Esq; was nominal Marshal: This Mr. *Farington* knowing I had Money come, sent to drink a Bottle of Wine with me, and took occasion to tell me, that he would do any thing that he could to serve me, and so got ten Pounds from me, for the liberty of going abroad with Waiters every Day during the Term; which was accordingly performed for a few Days, and I waited on the Arch-Bishop, and several Noblemen that were my Friends, who made interest for me to the Queen; that all my Debts might be discharged, which had been done; if *Farington* had not, Goaler like, plaid another Game to bleed me afresh, which he performed, by stopping me from going abroad; tho' it was our Agreement, and I paid the Money ready down, but he learned from his Keepers, who went abroad with me, that I was to go to the Queen with

the Bishop, and he guessed it was on Business of moment, so I must give ten Guineas more, or stay in the Prison; but I complied, and being abroad, I very fairly took leave of my Waiters, by leaving them at the *Thames*-side, which Particulars I have formerly mentioned, and so omit it here: But having thus got loose out of the Hands of ravening Wolves, I embarked about ten Days after, on board the *Mary Yacht*, with several Ladies and Gentlemen, which were convoyed to *Holland* by a *Dutch* Man of War. We landed at *Rotterdam*, from thence I went to the *Hague* with *Sir John St. Alban*, and there we met with the Earl of *Warwick*, with whom we spent several Days, playing some Tricks of Youth; and from thence I departed for *Flanders*, making some stay at *Antwerp*, to see the fine Churches, and other Rarities of that Place; from thence I went to *Brussels*, where I staid for the opportunity of a Convoy to guard me to the Camp, and was very kindly entertained and diverted every Day whilst I continued there, by *Monsieur Eckert*, the King of Great Britain's Resident there, whose Son, and his Secretary, took all opportunities to divert and accommodate me, they having had Instructions from my Lord *Portland* concerning my coming. And whilst I was there, Major General *Kirk* came to the Place, and lodged in the same House where I was; and at a publick Ordinary, of two Guilders a Head, I dined with him and his Company, which consisted of his Whore, dressed in Man's Cloaths, and she passed by the Name of *Mr. Thomas*, the Major General's Nephew, and several others, Volunteers, going to the Army; *Sir John St. Alban* was with me, and *Mr. Polly*, the King's Envoy to the Duke of *Savoy*, came there also. In two Days after, the whole Company, under a Guard of Two hundred Foot, set out from *Brussels*, and in one Day marched to *Lovain*, where we had advice, that a Party of *French* were ready, within three Hours of that Place, to intercept us; and there came also an Express from the Secretary of War, requiring all to go back to *Brussels* again, and to wait for a much larger Convoy, and then to take our Journey another way. I had hired a Coach and six Horses for my self, and *Sir John St. Alban* went with me in it; and after our return, we departed for *Brussels* in two Days, and arrived in the Camp

Camp after three more. Here I must beg leave to observe, that I never had any Obligation from *Kirk*, nor did I at any time borrow Money of him, or play at Cards with him, as has been over and over printed, and falsely asserted against me: It is true, for some reasons, when *Kirk* was demanding impertinent Questions of me, to stop his Mouth, I did say I was a Relation of my Lord *Sidney's*; of which he informed my Lord in three Days after I came to the Camp, and his Lordship told me of it again. I must own also, that I passed for a Nephew of the Arch Bishop of *Canterburys*, but this was only a Disguise that I put on to those that knew me not; and most of the Courtiers I was very well acquainted with; and as was daily seen, I had the Honour to speak to the King, either in publick or in private, as occasion required. In the Camp, I having no Horses, only a Coach and six, and those my Servants used, I contracted with Mr. *Van Hill*, (then Governour of *Lilloe*, and he had some Place belonging to the Court) for two fine Pads for my own riding, but the King commanding me away upon extraordinary Business, I had no occasion for them; however, this Gentleman obliged me to pay him ten Guineas to be quit of my Contract. Whilst I was in the Camp, I conversed chiefly with the Courtiers, particularly Dr. *Burch*, Dr. *Wickart*, and Mr. *Casteares*, who were all the King's Chaplains, and had their Diet together, tho' the last was a Dissenter, and Chaplain for *Scotland*, but his business was more matter of State than Religion; he is an ingenious and good Man, as are also the former. But to return to my Orders of leaving the Camp; the King commanded me to go for *Brussels*, and wait there for further Instructions; and I had a Party of Horse to conduct me thither, tho' by the way we narrowly escaped being taken by the *French*, who lay in Ambush, and at our first approach, thought us much more in number than we were, and after their first firing, they run into the Woods, which we were pleased with, knowing our own Weakness, but we took three Prisoners. I lay on my way at *Namure*, and the next Day, leaving the Party, I drove hard and came to *Brussels*, where I took my former Lodging, and going to the Resident, he invited me to take my abode in his House, which I did not accept, so he ordered

one Mr. *Mariscoe*, an *English* Messenger, to attend me, by reason my Servants were strangers to the Language of the Country ; and Mr. *Mariscoe* being a brisk Gentleman, I was very fond of his Company : And whilst I was here, I came acquainted with one *Alexander Brand*, a *Scotch* Merchant, who lent me 30*l.* there, and I took my Bill on the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*, for 50 *l.* Sterling, to be paid in *England*, as it was by the Earl of *Portland*, in *November* following. I went with *Mariscoe* afterwards to the *Hague*, to *Amsterdam*, and other Places, as my Business required, and was very extravagant, and let every one that came a-near me eat and drink, &c. upon my charge. I was Sir *Timothy Treat-all* ; and at last forced to borrow of *Mariscoe's* Uncle 20 *l.* and of one *Leaver*, who came over to *England* with me, 10 *l.* more, which Sum he had cost me double, yet being a malicious Fellow, he made a mighty noise of the matter, altho' I had been much the better if I had never seen him. But I pass over these particulars, they being already answered at large : I come now to my being in *England* again, and the Parliament sitting, Mr. *Crone* had made his escape to *France*, but left his Confession behind him on Oath. The House of Commons, about the 10th of *November*, 1691, ordered his Confession to be laid before them : I thought this was a fitting opportunity to move my own Business, and accordingly I petition'd to be heard concerning *Dalleval* and *Hayes* ; the House graciously granted whatever I asked in reason ; and I was spurred on by Mr. *Arnold*, and others before mentioned, to engage for *Dalleval* and *Hayes*, that they should appear in a certain time, and all the Assurance I had that they would do so, was their own Engagement, and that I found formerly they had not stuck to. The Arch Bishop knew not how to judge of the matter, and left it in good time ; but *Arnold*, *Tutchin*, one *Wildman*, Mr. *Savil*, and others that were mighty zealous, they urged me to go on, and were mighty Sticklers for me. Now the greatest Ground was this, That one Mr. *Tho. Jones* did discover to me a Design of Colonel *Parker's*, and the Chevalier *Granvil's*, to kill King *William*, and by his private Intelligence, I gave the King notice some Months before, and *Granvil* was taken in the Camp, and condemn'd, and dying

dying confessed the Crime: This *Jones* did faithfully, and upon his Veracity, and having this proof of his Fidelity, I confided in him, and was encouraged to engage to the Parliament, for the appearing of those Men; and upon *Jones's* Report, I afterwards writ to the Parliament, to acquaint them that they were come to Town, tho' I never saw them, and had only *Jones's* bare word for it: However it was, neither they nor *Jones* did ever appear; and when a Committee went to the Place *Jones* said they lodged at, there was no such Persons to be found. I was indeed dangerously sick at this time, but if poisoned by any, it was by my Whiggish Acquaintance: Then I was voted an Impostor, cast into close Confinement, where I was buoyed up by *Tutchin*, *Savil*, and others, who swore a hundred times to me, that they could prove *Dalleval* and *Hayes* were seen in the Lobby of the House of Commons; and further, some Members of..... came to me then, and many times since, and avouched the same. The former Sparks brought a Pass, with the pretended Hand and Seal of a great Lord to it, by which, they said, *Dalleval* and the others went away to France; all this I took for truth, and *Jones* came afterwards and tells me the same Story, which, no doubt, was contrived amongst them; however, I stood twice in the Pillory for my Crime, and they never appeared to justify me when need was; after that I lay in Prison for a Fine of 200 Marks, and some Debts, almost two Years; during which time, I was handsomely supported some eight Weeks by my Uncle *Charles Herbert, Esq;* who allowed me 40 Shillings per Week for my support, then removed me to the Fleet, where I purchased my Liberty for a parcel of Guineas, after which, my Uncle paid the greatest part of my Debts, and gave me 300 Pounds in my Pocket. Then I went and lived some time at *Canterbury*, coming often to *London*, and visiting my old Friend *Tutchin*, and others, they were hot to have me in Action, to retrieve my lost Reputation, and promised to bring in abundance of Witnesses to prove me very Innocent, and to lay all the matter on a certain great and worthy Nobleman: I foolishly gave credit to their Assertions, but living plentifully, and at ease, I was unwilling to meddle with any publick Concerns. Mr. *Tutchin* at this time was a Clerk in the Victualing-Office, but being of a restless

Temper, he could not rest satisfied to govern about a Hundred Butchers, as himself use to brag of, but he wanted to be a Commissioner, and therefore set himself to turn out those who were set over him, by laying Crimes to their Charge which he could not make out against them, tho' he was always a fishing for Evidence, but their Testimonies could no ways agree. I am very glad if he be reformed; but sure I am, there was not in *England* a more debauched Jewd Fellow than he was, when in that Employ; and very careless of his Family, Drinking, and Railing against his Betters, being the chiefest Part of his employ: But I shall leave him and his Associates for a while, and display my own Folly, which I began about nine Months after I was at liberty, by running in debt again; the first was at *Canterbury*, to a Gardiner, in whose House I had spent a considerable Sum, and the old Man, and his good Wife were mighty forward to serve me with what they had, and offered it of their own accord. I likewise commanded the Purse of some others there, tho' I always found them more ready to offer to me, than I was to ask; but when I had it, I treated highly, and they eat and drank out very near their own Money: Having got my self into debt again, a Fancy came into my Head, to leave *England*, for which purpose I went aboard the *Windsor* Man of War in *February*, 1696, Captain *Warren* Commander, who was going to the *East-Indies*, and had he not been stopt for some time, I had gone with him, for I staid on board until *May*, and was very handsomely treated, and had all the Pleasure Captain *Warren*, or his Friends, the several Captains that were on divers Cruisers with him, as Colonel *Kerby*, Captain *Wyat*, Captain *Holmes*, and twenty more; all these entertained me on board their respective Ships, with handsome Treats, Dancing, and the like, so my time was diverted well enough.

After I was set ashore, I went for *Canterbury*, and was there arrested for my Debts, so I removed my self, by *Habeas Corpus*, to the *Fleet*, and had my liberty. Then my Uncle equip'd me again, and I had a Groom, three Horses, and a Footman, and lodged on *Ludgate-hill*. I went that Summer to *Tunbridge-Wells*, and there, by the means of Mr. *Peter Brown*, a Messenger, I came acquainted with Mr. *Henry Griffith*, Mr. *Tracy Pansford*, and several other noted Whiggs.

Whiggs, these were fond of my Company. I was very profuse, and got into Mr *Pansford's* Debt about 50 *l.* and into one *Hall's* about eight or nine. This Year I was put upon a Stratagem of taking some Conspirators, it being the Summer after the intended Assassination; but I was deceived by my Advisers, and it brought me into some displeasure at Court, where I was again become very frequent, especially at the Secretary of States Office; but this did not so far prejudice me as to hinder my coming there. And now I came acquainted with Mr. *John Harrington*, Sir *Fleetwood Sheepherd*, and a great many worthy Persons, belonging to a Club at the one Tun Tavern in the Strand; these Gentlemen were all noted Whiggs, and I think most of them had been Sufferers, in the Reigns of King *Charles* the Second, and King *James*; by them I became known to abundance in the City, and at this time I was buisest in printing my first Books, in 1696. *Dick Baldwin* was my chief Bookseller, so it is plain, I had my chief Correspondence with sober and wise Men, and continued it for almost two Years. I was handsomely supported by my Relations; but I lived still very profusely, and contracted some Debts among my Companions. I was one Day shewed Captain *George Porter*, as he was walking in the Privy Garden, and passing by him, I said, *I wish you, Capt. Porter, better Luck with being an Informer than I have had.* He enquired who I was; in a short time after we had some Correspondence together, and I found him grumbling also for want of pay. I was also acquainted with the rest of his Society, the same Year I went into *Sussex*, with the Famous, or Infamous, Dr. *Kingston*, on my Lord *Lucas's* account, to take Col. *Parker*; but the Dr. had lately been himself in that Country personating a Traytor, then came up and gave Information to the Secretary, that he knew where a Traytor was, so got 50 *l.* for his Expences, and had a Messenger to attend him, Mr. *Allen*, who going to the place the Dr. said this Traytor was at, whilst he would not appear, Mr. *Allen* found out the Cheat, and that it was *Kingston* himself had been there; but he had Impudence enough to face out a hundred such Villanies as these, by which he has lived above thirty Years, but is now a Scribler, and turned, like my self quite out of Court: You may easily believe, that I

having such a director could perform but little of the Matter we went about, for *Kingston* kept close in his Inn at *Chichester*, he got all the Money, and I was forc'd to borrow of *Mr. Barnes* the Carrier, to bring me back again; and *Kingston* has since had two or three Fees for writing this and some other Stories against me (most notoriously false) that his Bookseller might be turning the Penny. The Spring following was very fortunate to me, if I had improved the happy Opportunities of a young Lady worth 20000 *l.* falling in Love with me; my Uncle also gave me 500 *l.* and a Merchant in the City, of his own goodness, taking a fancy to my Company, as I was one Day in *Jack Salisbury's* Shop, a Bookseller, at the Sun in *Cornhill*; this Gentleman afterwards grew so fond of me, that of his own accord he lent me 250 *l.* without taking any Bond, Note or Security for the same; and he continued his Friendship until he died. I took Lodgings at *Twitnam*, for the Convenience of being near the Lady; I kept a pretty Table and Retinue, and paid all my Trades-men generously and constantly; I had abundance of Visitors, and treated all that came. The Lady and I were solemnly contracted, and had designed to have been married in *July*, when her Brother, the only obstacle in our way, was to be at *Tunbridge Wells*; but unfortunately she fell sick of the Small Pox and died, and I was a faithful Mourner a long time for her; for if I knew my own Heart, I valued her Person more than her Fortune, but both together was too great a Blessing for me. After this, I came by accident in the Play-house acquainted with one *Samuel Prat*, and our Friendship was very sincere for a while, sometimes I lent him Money, and he did the same for me; but I being in his Debt, and could not immediately answer his demands when he had occasion for it, he fell into a Passion, and it being increased on both sides, we never had any farther Correspondence; but some time after, he carries all my Letters, that I had wrote to him, as a Friend I lov'd and confided in, to *Mr. Roper*, to get them inserted in a Book against me; but tho' I have more of his, I scorn to be so disingenious as to expose his Folly and Non-sense, nor would I be so impertinent to my Reader. This Winter following, I lodged in the Rules of the *Fleet*, but went abroad every Day,

Day, when and where I pleased. In March my Uncle gave me 200*l*. more, and by May I had spent it, then I had 100*l*. more, with which I resolved to go and see some Friends in the North of England, near Newcastle upon Tyne, but before I began my Journey the greatest part of this Money was spent; but this Relation is in my former Book, and also my extravagant Pranks at York, therefore I omit it here, and come now to the Death of my Uncle, who sent for me as he was almost ready to expire; then taking me by the Hand said, Dear Will. your Mother gave me charge of you at her Death, and I am going now, through the Mercy of God in Jesus Christ, where I trust she is; you have been from your Youth the darling of my Soul, and until you fell from God, by renouncing that holy Religion you were Baptiz'd in and Educated, I loved you even to a degree that was Sinful; then when you abandoned all that was good, and lived to the prejudice of the true Church, and all your former faithful Friends, then, I say, I regarded you not seemingly, but my Prayers were daily for you, and I mourned in secret. Since you have been unkindly treated and exposed, I had hopes that the Chastisement would have brought you to a sense of the Sin and Error, and I supported you through the sharpest Wants, still hoping and praying for your Reformation: And now I am going to leave this World. Oh! my dear Child, with how much Pleasure shall I leave this Earth, if I may but see you return into the Bosom of the Church, whose Arms are ready, like those of her great Lord and Master, to receive every penitent Sinner. I hope you're not so void of Grace, nor stupidly Ignorant, as to believe you can be saved whilst you persist in the Heresies you have embraced. Then he was very faint, but after a while reviving again, he urg'd me to confess to his Priest, and receive the Sacrament the next Morning; to which I made the following Reply: Sir, It wounds my Heart to hear your concern for me, and that I cannot comply with your Desire: I own my Life is a scandal to the Religion I have embraced, but the Doctrine of the Church of England I never can in my Mind consent to depart from, without expecting the dreadful Vengeance of a just God, with whom I cannot prevaricate. I wish my Life were at Stake to serve you by the loss of it. I would show my Love and Duty to you; but my Reason I

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cannot put out, and therefore should I comply with your Desires, I must be false to my God, I must break all the sacred Vows I have made to the contrary: I should deceive you at present, and ruin my Soul Eternally. I have been left to you almost ever since I was born; I had no Parents to take care of me; and those my Father entrusted me with, have been devouring Wolves: Now, Sir, do by me as you please. If you leave me unprovided for, I will still hold fast my Integrity, and never depart from the Church of England. Then lifting up his Hands he pray'd God to turn my Heart in his due time, and withal, bid me withdraw. Then his Priest came to me; and told me plainly, if I did not do as my Uncle had desired of me, he would instantly disinherit me, and give his whole Estate to my Sister Herbert, my Mother's Daughter by her first Husband, which he did accordingly, and departed this Life October the 12th 1699. and left me only one Shilling. After this my Sister gave me 300 l. and would have engaged me to come and live with her, but I was for going to Law with her, and had ill advisers; in short, I was almost distracted; and one Day going to see her, threw her down a pair of great Stairs, but thro' Mercy I did her no harm more than the fright, however she disowned me after this, and let me lye in Prison at Southampton a whole Year, but the Adventure is already printed at large, and I omit it; but being delivered out of Prison, and returned from a strange Adventure that I made in Flanders, which is set forth in my Trip to Hampshire, my Sister took me into favour again, and has supported me considerably ever since; but I employed the greatest part of it to very indifferent Purposes, for I began to be Scribbling again against the pretended Prince of Wales, and publishing my Plain Proof, and several such Papers, which disgusted my Sister again; and I was obliged to run in my Bookseller's Debt, Mrs. Elizabeth Harris in Little-Britain, with whom, and Madam Fletcher, a beautiful and pleasant Lady, I had for some time a very intimate Correspondence; but some Misunderstanding arising, and my Money not coming to pay what I owed, Mrs. Harris invites me to a Supper at Pontacks in the City, and came there with Madam Fletcher, and her Friend Trusty, where she was followed in less than an Hour.

Hour by three Fellows with a Writ, so that all our extraordinary Friendship, and most intimate and pleasant Conversation broke off here; however, I removed my self to my old Sanctuary, and generous Mr. Tilly gave me my Freedom immediately, so I took Lodging by the *Old Bailly*, and then I writ the short Tract of my Life, and immediately afterwards my *Trip to Hampshire and Flanders*, which last Book being a drug, honest Mr. Peroe has since, without my consent, given it a new Title, viz. *The second part of the Life of William Fuller, skewing, &c.* what is not so much as mentioned in any part of it.

I was now pelted off by the *Jacobites* and Hackney Scriblers; but I had the mighty Mr. *John Tutchin*, *Roberts Murrey*, and other famous and bold Writers and Politicians, come in to my assistance; and these I treated almost every Day, for I had three Pounds a Week paid me duly from my Sister: And about the latter end of February 1700. Mr. *Jones* comes to me, pretending that he desired to serve the King and Nation, and to justify me; and as an earnest of his Intentions, he desired that I would acquaint the Secretary of State of it, and withal, inform him, that *Jones* was going into *Hampshire* to a Roman Catholick Gentleman's Houle, near *Red-bridge*, and that Father *Johnson*, *William Berkenhead*, and some other dangerous Persons, being come from *France* in that Country, he the said *Jones* would deliver up those Sparks into the Hands of Justice with himself, if the Secretary would be pleased to send me with a sufficient number of Messengers to apprehend them. I acquainted Mr. Secretary *Hedges* of the whole Matter, and five Messengers went with me into the Country, viz. Mr. *Morris*, Mr. *Peter Tom*, Mr. *Collin*, Mr. *Nicholas Hill*, and Mr. *Peter Browne*; my Instructions from *Jones* were, that when the Traytors were all fixed, and he knew certainly that they might be taken, he would give me notice by a certain Person in the Country, whom he could trust, and in the mean while I and the Messengers were to stay in the Neighbourhood of the place, which accordingly we did several Days; then I heard from *Jones*, and all things being fix'd, as he pretended, and according to his advice I took the Messengers upon the Road betwixt the two Houses, where *Jones* pre-

pretended these Traytors and himself were ; then calling the Messengers together, I told them at what Houses *Jones* and the others were at, and how they might be known; and the said Houses being about fifteen Miles asunder, or something more, I offer'd to go with any two of them to take *Jones* and those with him at one House, whilst the other three went to search, as I directed them, for the rest, and I desired that we might proceed immediately. The Messengers then withdrawing from me, consulted apart by themselves, then jointly told me, they could not go into either of those Houses to Search, the owners being Peers, tho' Roman Catholicks. I urged them to it, and they wished they could, but they said their Warrants and Power was not sufficient to Indemnifie them, therefore they could not, nor dare not venture to do it. Then we agreed to send one of them away Post for a further Order and Power from Court, but none was sent, and we writ likewise for such a Warrant as might be effectual, but none came, so that we could not try whether *Jones* was real or not in his Pretensions. Fatal this proved to me, for coming back to *London* I told my Story to Sir *John Savil*, Mr. *Tutchin*, and the rest of my Associates, who cried out mightily against the Secretary; and *Jones* persisting in his pretences, confirm'd my Opinion of his Veracity; and nothing now would content my supposed Friends but I must lay the Matter before the Parliament, and for this purpose Petitions, Letters, and what not, were writ and printed at my Charge for the promoting this Matter, and *Tutchin* attended at the Lobby every Day with me all the Sessions; and he and others promised and Swore to me, that if *Jones* should prove false, he and they knew forty Witnesses to bring me off, and prove Strange and Treasonable Practices, committed by some great Men, in the Interest of *France*; and *Jones* coming to Town confirm'd me so in my Resolutions, that I thought my self infalliably sure of him: But I spent all my Money and Pains, this Sessions, to no purpose, the Parliament taking no notice, which troubled me much, so fond was I of my own Ruin. The Parliament being ready to rise, *Tutchin* comes one Day in great haste to me at Mr. *Perces*, at the Haunch of Venison in the Palace-yard, our constant House for eating and consulting

sulting, he told me, Sir *John Savil* desired me to go immediately to Dr. *Chamberlain*, at his House in *Suffolk-street*, and that he had 500 *l.* lodg'd in his Hands for the carrying on my Business; I reply'd, that I was a Stranger to the Dr. and should not go without Sir *John's* Letter, or that one of them went with me, which *Tutchin* did; and I was told, if I carried on my Business against my L—N— and others, I should have all manner of Encouragement and Assistance; and a short time after the Dr. did pay me a small Sum, which to make up, he borrow'd ten Shillings of Mrs. *Man*, at *Young-man's* Coffee house at *Charing-cross*, where I received it; and afterwards, the Parliament being up, I had Mr. *Tutchin* and *Robert Murrae* to provide for; the latter belonging to the *Fleet*, I took a Lodging for him at Mr. *Leopars*, a Coffin Shop, at the corner of *Fleet-lane* in the *Old-Baily*, for the payment of which I engaged, and paid at last; and *Jack Tutchin* being out of Credit at his Lodgings in *Southwark*, came to me, and desired me to provide for him also, and *Murrae* gave consent for a while he might lay with him, which he did for some time, until *Tutchin* began, for want of change of Linnen, to grow *Low-sie*; of which Mr. *Murrae* complained to me, laying, *your Friend Mr. Tutchin, has no Linnen, pray desire him to leave me*; so in meer compassion I furnished him with Linnen also, and Money to hire a new Lodging, and many Crowns and half Crowns he had of me for a long time together, to get himself Drunk withal with his Friends at a Punch-house in the *Black friars*; but these, Horse-leech like, having suck't me almost dry, and having consumed 200 *l.* that I had from my Sister, I could not carry them so daily and frequently to the three Tun Tavern, where they eat and drank lustily, and nicely, with me. Mr. *Murrae* finding Cash grow lo, he brings one Mr. *Prime* an Ironmonger, in *Budge-row*, whom *Murrae* had suck'd out of two thousand Pounds; but *Prime* growing low himself, was now slack to him, but *Murrae* represented to him what a glorious Cause I was embark'd in, and how great Service I was doing for the Nation: Mr. *Prime* immediately desires my Acquaintance, and offers his Purse at my service, visiting me every Day, and there was hardly a Morning or Evening, when I was in Town, but we were at the three Tuns: We took
some

some trips into the Country together, especially to *Hampton Court*, and those Parts; and at the latter end of the Summer, I hardly could stir any where without this Gang at my Tail; and when the King came home, we went together to Court, and at *Hampton* I carried them, *viz.* *Prime* and *Murrae*, to see the King; and having publish'd my twenty Six Depositions, &c. which they all had a hand in writing, I mean the scandalous Reflections there, for which I now suffer for publishing. We had a new Acquaintance brought in by Mr. *Buck*, the Bookseller, one Mr. *Dan. Weaver*, a bold, daring, fighting Whig, and this Spark they thought was a necessary Companion for me, and to be always with me, lest the *Jacobites* should Assault and Murder me. Now Mr. *Tutchin* began to pick up some Friends, and so was not constantly with me as before; but for fear of being taken notice of, he desired me to meet him from *Weaver* especially; but one Day, being with *Prime*, *Weaver*, *Buck*, and others, at my Lord *Rocheſter's* fine House at *Peterſom*, near *Richmond*, it was propos'd by the Company, to find out an Expedient to get that noble Lord Attainted of high Treason; that a certain great Whig might beg that noble Seat, &c. I was surpris'd at this, and *Peter Buck*, crying out shame at the Notion, Mr. *Weaver* was in a Rage, and taking *Buck's* part was the next Day threatned by *Prime* and *Murrae*, to be arrested for the Money I had of the former. They told me I was not firm to the Cause, and if I made scruples at doing good, they must, and would, leave me; but if I would promise to Write and Publish what they would say, I should not want Witnesses to prove, then I should have what Assistance I required, and having shew'd them what Papers I had from *Jones*, who was then in Town, they would have me print them forthwith, against the Parliament set. I was unwilling, but they said I must do it, and unless I would give *Prime* a Bond immediately for 250 *l.* tho' I owed him not 60 *l.* at that time, he would Arrest me immediately, if I stirr'd out of the Rules; then Sir *John Savil* coming with others, all swore to stand by me, and to bring me off with Honour, if I printed those Papers; so I gave them the Bond, which was Witnessed by Mr. *Roger Danson*, the Master of the three Tun Tavern on *Ludgate-hill*, and if this be not Truth, let them disprove me, by shewing

ing the Bond ; or if Mr. Prime can swear that I then owed him more than I mention, I will be contented to be thought in the wrong. Jones visited me frequently at my Lodging in Fleet-lane, at Mr. Burchers, a Coffin-maker, and the Man of the House knew him by sight, and that his Name was Jones ; so then, that I might not forfeit my Bond, and believing all my Acquaintance said to me was truth, I by their help composed that Book, entituled, *Original Letters of the late King James, and others, with the Depositions of Thomas Jones, Esq;* and gave it to Mr. Buck to Print. I was assur'd by several that nothing in it could hurt me, and being promised by several Persons of Figure and Note, that I should have forty Witnesses to stand by me, and be brought off with Honour, I writ a Petition to both Houses of Parliament, and delivered it at their first sitting ; upon which the House of Lords, on the fifth of January read the following Order.

Die Lunæ, 5 January.

IT is Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, that Mr. William Fuller, and Mrs. A. Baldwin, do attend this House, on Wednesday next at Eleven of the Clock in the Forenoon.

Matt. Johnson, Cler' Parliam'.

And I attended accordingly, where foolishly, by the advice of my false Friends, I refused to answer directly such Questions as were demanded of me, insisting upon having the protection of the House for Jones and all other Witnesses I should produce ; and the House after several Examinations and Debates, made the following Order, viz.

Die.

Die Mercurij 7 Januarij. 1701.

IT is Ordered, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, That Mr. W. Fuller, do on Wednesday next, at Eleven of the Clock, and produce before this House Mr. Thomas Jones, mentioned in Mr. Fullers Petition, and that Mr. Thomas Jones shall have the protection of this House.

Mat. Johnson Cler^y Parliament

On January the 10th I sent the following Letter to my Lord Keeper, and it was read in the House of Peers.

January 10. 1701.

My Lord,

I humbly pray that you will acquaint the House of Peers, that that the Names of the Persons that saw Dalleval and Hayes in the Lobby, are amongst my Papers in the Country, where I have lately been some time; but I have sent for them, and shall return them with all speed.

My Lord, I desire their Lordships may be informed, That I have heard from Mr. Thomas Jones, by Mr. John Ingelsfeild, at whose House Mr. Jones and his Family are, and Mr. Ingelsfeild assures me, that Mr. Jones will make good what I have engaged for him, and advises me to give their Lordships the following Account, viz.

That this Mr. John Ingelsfeild is my nearest Relation, and he hath a competent Fortune, and truly loves the present Government.

Mr. Jones having given me such undeniable Proofs (as I am ready to Demonstrate) that he desires, and is able, to serve the King and Nation, and to justifie me, and after I had met with several Disappointments in attempts of that kind, I acquainted
my

my Kinsman Inglesfeild of the Matter betwixt Mr. Jones and my self, and brought them to be intimately acquainted. Mr. Jones in February last desired me to inform Mr. Secretary Hedges, that he designed to serve the present Government; and if the said Secretary would grant his Warrant against him, he would not only surrender himself to a Messenger, but desired that Father Johnson, Mr. Berkenhead, and several other dangerous Conspirators, might be inserted in the said Warrant, and Mr. Jones promised to deliver them into the Hands of Justice, as an Instance of his design to serve the King. Upon this, unknown to me, a Warrant was given to Mr. Nicholas Hill a Messenger, and I coming next Day to Mr. Ellis, asked of him when the Warrant would be ready: he answered me saying, a Messenger was gone with it already. I told him it was strange to send to take Mr. Jones without inquiring of me what House he was at, or what Name he went by, for he was then but newly come from France, and not publickly known. After this five Messengers were sent down with me to seize Mr. Jones and others; and when we came near the place where they were concealed, I called the Messengers together, telling them, what Houses Mr. Jones and the others to be seized, were in, and I offered my self to go with them to take the Conspirators, accordingly as I had undertaken; but the Messengers going aside from me, and consulting some time by themselves, told me they had not Power to Enter nor Search those Houses where Jones and the others were, so they could not, nor would not, venture to do it. Then I and they writ severally to the Secretary for a Power that they might Search, offering to procure Affidavits in the Country that those Men were there, &c. but no Warrant was sent us, so we sent two of the Messengers to Whitehal for the same purpose, and staid about twelve Days in the Country, but no Warrant was allowed, and the Messengers were ordered home, without a Power to do any thing as they were seemingly sent about.

My Lord, after this, Mr. Inglesfeild went to Mr. Jones on my account, and was advised to get his Affidavit made before Mr. Hobby a Justice of the Peace in that Country; but Mr. Inglesfeild tells me, that Mr. Hobby was not at home, so that we got Mr. Jones to his own House, and the Affidavit was taken,

by a Justice of the Peace, who lives very near Mr. Inglesfeild, and will attend if Commanded.

My Lord, I did think the Affidavit had been made before Mr. Hobby (until Mr. Inglesfeild informed me to the contrary) by reason I knew it was so design'd, and advised by a Friend of mine. I must humbly, therefore, beg their Lordships pardon, for mentioning Mr. Hobby's Name, altho' it is evident that I said I could not positively assert, that the Affidavit was made before him, for I never did see the full Contents of the Affidavit, by reason Mr. Jones and Mr. Inglesfeild advised me to the contrary; so that I saw only what concerned myself, and some small matter more, which by Mr. Jones's order I published, the better to inform the World, and to provoke those concerned to know the Truth.

Mr. Inglesfeild fully informed himself of Mr. Jones's Circumstances then, took ten thousand Pounds Security of him that he should not leave me, when he with other Witnesses should be called, and protected by lawful Authority, to make out what I had, or should publish in his Name. After this they came to Town together, in the last Sessions of Parliament, and stayed whilst I endeavour'd (without Success) to bring the Matter to a Hearing; and all the latter part of the Summer, and very lately, Mr. Jones and Mr. Inglesfeild were with me, and by themselves, about this Town, Richmond and Hampton-Court, whilst I endeavoured to get the late Secretary of State to examine Mr. Jones, and to peruse his whole Affidavit. Mr. John Inglesfeild is principally and only concerned with Mr. Jones, on my behalf, and for my Security, but thinks himself in Conscience bound to take care of Mr. Jones, by reason he knows he has such Enemies as would prevent the said Mr. Jones from appearing alive, did they know where he was.

Mr. Inglesfeild is returned home, and carries their Lordships Orders for Mr. Jones to attend. He bids me assure the Lords, that he will do all that in him lies, to get Mr. Jones to Town within the time ordered; but advised me humbly to beseech the Lords to grant me a longer time; by reason Mr. Jones is fourscore Miles off, his Lady is in Child-bed, and Mr. Jones had lately been afflicted with Gravel, and could

could not Travel but in a Coach; besides, the Roads were extremely deep, and full of Water. This I humbly beg your Lordship will present to the Lords. I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's,

most Dutiful Servant,

William Fuller.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Speaker of the House of Lords.

The forgoing Letter being read in the House of Peers, the following Orders were made.

Die Lunæ, 12. Januarij. 1701.

After reading a Letter from William Fuller, desiring further time for his producing Mr. Thomas Jones, it is Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, That Mr. William Fuller do peremptorily produce the said Mr. Thomas Jones, before this House, on Monday next at Eleven of the Clock in the Forenoon.

Mat. Johnson Cler. Parliament

After this I went to Mr. Stanyon, Secretary to the Right Honourable the Earl of Manchester, principal Secretary of State, desiring him to let his Lord know, that I prayed his Warrant, and a Messenger to take and secure Mr. Thomas Jones, who was then near the Town, and desired for several Reasons to be taken into Custody, otherwise he would not appear, unless the Lords pleased to call and protect other Witnesses as well as himself, which said Witnesses would have appeared, being protected, as I humbly offered for them.

Note, That in February 1700, there was an Affidavit of High Treason made against Mr. Thomas Jones, before Sir Thomas Abney, Knight, then Lord Mayor of London, which Affidavit was left in the Secretary of State's Office, in the Hands of John Ellis, Esq; one of the under Secretaries.

After this the two following Letters were writ to my Lord Keeper.

January the 16th 1701.

My Lord,
FOR my own Security, Mr. Jones being consenting, I went on Wednesday last to Mr. Stanyon, Secretary to the Right Honourable the Earl of Manchester, desiring him to acquaint his Lord, that I beg'd he would grant me a Warrant and Messengers, to fetch Mr. Jones, and to secure him until discharged by the House of Lords. My Lord Manchester answer'd, that he would not have to do with the Matter, it being before the House; but, I hoped that his Lordship would have informed the House yesterday of my Request; but hearing nothing of it, I waited last Night to have spoke to your Lordship upon the same Account.

Mr.

Mr. Jones is now come much nearer the Town than he was, but is resolv'd to advance no farther, unless he is brought in Custody; his Reasons are, the many devilish Devices now on foot to ruin and murder him and me, besides the enclosed Pamphlet published yesterday, and industriously spread over the Town and Nation, which is such an abuse as surely was never before put on any Man, that at his own Expence, and the hazard of his Life, endeavour'd to serve the Government; besides, the Lords I think, granted Mr. Jones their Protection at my Petition, and that he should, after that, be thus abused, cannot be look'd on but as a violent Presumption, that some Men both fear and would prevent his appearing against them; and these things if allowed, plainly prognosticate what will follow; for my own part, I have been in danger to be murdered three times as I was coming from the House; and as for what is printed against me, I can prove it notoriously false.

My Lord, I humbly pray that you will procure me a Power and Messengers, to fetch Mr. Jones in a Coach, that he may be before the House on Monday next. I desire to be sent in Custody to fetch him, and if I do not bring him, let me be brought back a Prisoner, and used as their Lordships think I deserve.

My Lord, I cannot safely proceed unless this be done; I am ready to be disposed of to Bonds or Imprisonment, as the Lords please: But the Expedient I now humbly offer, I am sure will tend to their Lordships and the Nations Satisfaction, I shall thereby be secure, and Mr. Jones produced; which is the endeavour of,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's,

most Dutiful Servant,

William Fuller.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Speaker of the House of Lords.

January the 19th. 1701.

My Lord,

Mr. Jones having met with great Disencouragements, as before I informed your Lordship, he still resolves not to appear, unless fetch'd in Custody, or that the Lords will pass an Order, to hear and protect such Witnesses as he shall produce, to confirm what he offers. I cannot doubt but your Lordship and my Lord Manchester, will be so good to me as to inform the Lords what I have done, in order to obtain a Warrant to take and secure Mr. Jones; and had I obtained it as I before mentioned in my Letter to your Lordships, of the 16th instant, since which I have been three times to wait on you on the same account, I am sure Mr. Jones had been produced this Day; but of my self I have no Power to compel him. My Lord, I humbly fling myself at their Lordships Feet to be disposed of as they please; but if I may be so happy as to obtain a Warrant and Messengers, to fetch Mr. Jones, he may be brought before their Lordships to Morrow, or let me be brought back a Prisoner, and suffer as the Lords shall judge I deserve. I beg you will present this, with my Letter of the 16th Instant to the House. I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's,

Most dutiful Servant

William Fuller.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper of the Great
Seal, and Speaker of the House of Lords,

The

The same Day the following Letter was read (*January the 19th*) I attended the House of Lords, was called in, examined, and then withdrew; and was afterwards committed Prisoner to the *Fleet Prison*, and ordered to be Prosecuted by the Attorney General.

January the 21st. 1701.

The Commons of *England*, in Parliament assembled, ordered me to be brought to the Bar of that House, to give an account concerning a Book I had writ, and how I had been supported.

I was carried accordingly in Custody, and called in twice, and being examined, was ordered to withdraw, and then remanded to Prison, without being informed what Resolutions the House had come to concerning my Matter that I had offered at the Bar.

The next Night, late, I received two Warrants from Mr. Speaker, requiring *Thomas Jones, Esq;* and *John Inglesfeild, Gent.* to attend the House in a Fortnight, and an Order for me to produce them in the said Time.

Then I writ to Mr. Speaker, as follows.

The true Copy of Letters writ by *William Fuller*, to the Speaker of the House of Commons: The first dated *January the 23d, 1701.*

May it please your Honour,

I Have just now received the Warrants for *Thomas Jones Esq;* and *Mr. John Inglesfield's* attending; I am truly and humbly thankful to the Honourable House of Commons for the same. I humbly beg that your Honour will inform the House, that altho'

I am but little concerned at my Confinement, yet the unhappy Consequences of it compell me to complain, by reason I am reduced to such Extremities, that I cannot possibly proceed in what I have undertaken, without the Favour and Assistance of the House, in letting me go, either under a strict Guard to fetch Mr. Jones and Mr. Inglesfeild, or that I may be allowed a very small sum of Money to send Persons for them. I must acquaint your Honour, that when I was Committed to this Place on Monday last, I had not twenty Shillings in the World; and since, I have been obliged to pawn my Cloaths, for Money to defray some necessary Expences, my Friends sending me Word, and telling me, that they will not relieve me with half a Crown, though it were to save my Life, since the Houses of Lords and Commons, have been pleas'd to take Cognizance of them for their former Charity, in lending me Money to buy me Bread. I humbly commit the Consideration of my sad and lamentable Condition to the Goodness and Wisdom of the House. And if I may be assisted in any kind, I doubt not but I shall deserve the further Favour of the House and Nation, by proving plainly the worst of Crimes to have been committed by Persons in Places of great Trust, and their endeavours for several Years past, to keep Mr. Jones from appearing and detecting them: And being allowed this assistance above-mentioned, I do hereby declare, that in case I do not produce Mr. Thomas Jones and Mr. Inglesfeild, I desire to be Prosecuted with the greatest severity imaginable. I hope my Enemies will not have power to turn this my humble Petition to my prejudice, since it is evident, that the Israelites could not make Brick without Straw. I beg your Honour will present this to the House, and as in Duty bound, I shall ever pray, &c.

William Fuller.

Directed to the Right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq;
Speaker of the House of Commons.

The

The second Letter,

Dated, January 26. 1701.

May it please your Honour,

ON Saturday last I sent my humble Complaint to you in a Letter, which I hope your Honour received, and I humbly beg'd that it may be communicated to the Honourable House of Commons. In substance it represented my unhappy Condition, and I think it my Duty to repeat my Prayer, That your Honour will grant me leave, in strict Custody of Messengers, and in Irons, if it be thought convenient to fetch Mr. Jones and Mr. Inglesfeild, both of them being retired to Mr. Inglesfeild's House, since my usage from the Right Honourable the House of Lords. I must inform your Honours, that I have not Money to send a Person to them with the Protection and the Warrants for their attending; and I humbly conceive, that it is neither safe nor reasonable for me, at this time, to trust a matter of such consequence by the Post; and I resolve by God's leave to act in such a manner as may be justifiable before the strictest Judges; but Impossibilities I cannot perform, neither can I believe such will be imposed on me. I know my Enemies are very great and powerful; but having Truth on my side, I hope, the Honourable House of Commons, as they have begun, will still go on to do the Nation and me Right; and if I prove a Villain (as multitudes without Reason will have me to be) let me, I humbly beg it, be punished without Mercy.

I must

I must acquaint your Honour, that in this Prison there are several Papists and disaffected Persons, and I am exposed to all sorts, and some dangerous Fellows that I knew at St. Germans have come impudently to me. I know not their Designs: But for some Reasons, I cannot imagine they are good. I humbly conclude, praying, your Honour to present this with my former of the 23^d Instant to the House. I am,

S I R,

Your Honour's

Most humble Servant.

William Fuller.

To the Right Honourable *Robert Harley, Esq;*
Speaker to the House of Commons.

January 30. 1701.

I Having lately heard from *Thomas Jones, Esq;* and *John Inglesfeild, Gent.* I think it my Duty to acquaint your Honour, as I desire you will, the Honourable House of Commons, that

that they are come from Mr. Inglesfeilds House, and will be near the Town at the beginning of the next Week, in order that they may be fetch'd in Custody to attend the House, for Mr. Jones will not otherwise appear, for divers Reasons that he urges, too many for me to enumerate. But if I may be permitted to communicate the whole matter to eight worthy Members of Parliament that I know (as I humbly pray I may) I am sure I shall remove all Doubts concerning this matter, and such Measures may be taken as they shall judge proper, that the Witnesses will be produced with safety and speed; the King and Nation will thereby be best served, I shall Honourably acquit my self, and the Endeavours of some great Men, who with all their might strive to prevent this discovery of the long Tract of their most dangerous and Treasonable Practices, will hereby be defeated, which is what I have a long time endeavour'd to make known to the World; but experience teaches me, That truth has not always the most favourable reception.

I cannot question the Justice of the Honourable House of Com. since I very well know, That what I have to prove concerns each worthy Member thereof, and every one that each Member represents; it being a matter, as will appear, that highly relates to the Nations present as well as future Peace and Security. I beg your Honour to inform the House likewise, That had I been at liberty, as I have been formerly, almost seven Years last until committed by the Lords, I should not have wanted my Witnesses to have appeared at the Bar of the House in Ten Days, as I mentioned: But being shut up in Prison, and deprived of all my Friends, I am obliged to repeat my Prayer, That the House will permit me to communicate my Business to eight Members, as before mentioned, and that they may report their Opinion to the House, and have Power to fetch and secure Mr. Jones, and others, as they shall think fitting: and since it is out of my Power to act on my own behalf, I hope this my Petition will be granted, which I am confident must afford a great Satisfaction to impartial Men, and plainly demonstrate the Injuries I have long groan'd under, for endeavouring to serve the Nation and do my self Right.

Witness my Hand and Seal this 10th Day of November 1702.
 Honour-
 Able

Honoured Sir, I cannot imagine that any will be so unreasonable as to expect I should run when my Hands and Feet are fast bound, which truly is my Case; therefore I am the more importunate a Petitioner for help, that I may not sink under the Malice and Fury of England's bosom and publick Enemies. I am,

S I R,

Your Honour's most devoted

and humble Servant,

William Fuller.

To the Right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq; Speaker
of the House of Commons.

February 4. 1701.

May it please your Honour.

Thomas Jones, Esq; and Mr. John Inglesfeild are come nearer the Town, in order to attend the Honourable House of Commons; I humbly pray, by their direction, that I may be admitted to offer some Matter very material, and for the Nations security, before they will appear; and that I may come to the Bar of the House to perform the same. I beg an Answer, who am,

S I R,

Your Honour's most devoted

and humble Servant,

William Fuller.

To the Right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq; Speaker,
of the House of Commons,

After

After Reading this Letter, the following Orders were sent me that Night.

Mercurij 4 die Februarij. 1701.

Ordered,

THAT William Fuller be, at his own Desire, brought to attend this House to Morrow morning, and that the Warden of the Fleet do bring him accordingly at Ten a Clock.

Ordered,

THAT the said William Fuller do bring Thomas Jones, Esq; and John Inglesfield, Gent. to attend this House to morrow Morning according to his undertaking, and the Warrants he has had for that purpose from this House.

Paul Jodrel Cler' Dom' Com'

I attended accordingly, and being called in expressed myself as follows.

A true Copy of what was offered by William Fuller to the House of Commons, at the Bar of the House, February 5. 1701.

WHEN I was last before this House, the hard Usage I had received two Days before from the Lords, and the abuses I met with as I was waiting without, has in some measure discomposed my Mind, and rendered me incapable of entertaining the Thoughts of several Precautions
neces-

necessary for me to have made use of, in order to perfect what I designed for the King and Nations Service, and the Satisfaction of this Honourable House.

By the Votes of the preceeding Day, I then thought my Business here was, to give some account to this House concerning two Books, and how I had been supported.

Mr. *Jones* being named, gave me some hopes that this House would hear him and others, to prove what is contained, with much more of greater moment than is in the said Books. Upon this, I must own, that with little consideration of my Circumstances, I did offer to this House to produce Mr. *Jones* and Mr. *Inglesfeild* in Ten Days. I remember likewise, That I informed this House that I had not seen Mr. *Jones* since that Day the Lords committed me, nor did I know where he was, until *Friday*, being the Day following that I was at the Bar, at which time Mr. *Inglesfeild*'s Servant came to me, from his Master, to let me know, that Mr. *Jones* was gone with him to his House, which is near fourscore Miles off.

The same *Friday* at Night, I received the Warrants from Mr. Speaker, for Mr. *Jones* and Mr. *Inglesfeild* to attend this House in a Fortnight, with the Protection also.

Until which time, I did not certainly know whether the House had granted any such Order. These Papers I had to send to Mr. *Jones* and Mr. *Inglesfeild*, but I was destitute of Friends that I could trust, and had not Money to give; my Acquaintance being frighted from me, and would not send me half a Crown, though to save my Life.

Being under this streight, I humbly made my Case known immediately in two Letters to Mr. Speaker, and begged they might be communicated to the House; but I had no Answer nor Assistance in either kind, as I humbly prayed for.

I need not, I suppose, repeat the Contents of those Letters; and I hope, the great Wisdom and Goodness of this House, will not impose Impossibilities on me.

I know that in the World I have many great and powerful Enemies; and I have reason to imagine, that many Fal-lacies are urged against me to secure themselves, that I may

be cruelly and inhumanly suppress, before I shall have Power to bring in Mr. Jones, and others, in such a manner as may be most secure for him and my self; and above all, mostly conducing to the Interest and safety of the Nation. On *Wednesday* last Mr. Jones having had the printed Votes sent him, he sent his Servant to me, by whom I sent the Warrants and Protection for himself and Mr. *Ingleseild*, since which, I have heard from him again; and I know that Mr. Jones is resolved, for Reasons that will, I hope, hereafter be very satisfactory to this House, not to appear till fetched in Custody, or that the House will grant a Committee to Examine Mr. Jones privately, and that I may have leave to send the Names of the said Committee to Mr. Jones.

Mr. Jones, as I am confined, is not in my Power, and there are in the World Persons that he will accuse of very great Crimes; I must not name them, nor will I put him into their Power. If these my humble Proposals may be allowed, the Nation will reap the Benefit and Advantage of the Discovery. I am ready to proceed with speed, having such assistance as is absolutely necessary, otherwise I am very desirous to stand the Prosecution, as the Lords have ordered. Permit me to affirm, since it is Truth, That I have served the King and Nation several times in Matters of the highest concern, when his Majesty and these Kingdoms were exposed to the greatest Dangers, from private as well as publick Enemies; I am sure no Man ventured more to do this Service: And I may challenge any private Subject to give so many Instances of the like Hazards and Services I have performed.

I was never Guilty of Perjury or false Impositions; nor have I any time accused any Man wrongfully: My Misfortunes have exposed me to some shifts for Bread, which if well considered might find its Excuses.

Mr. Jones was in Town on *Sunday* last, and sent to me, by his Servant, to desire me, by all means, to get leave of the Warden to meet him, in Custody of as many Waiters as he pleased, that Night at the Three Tuns on *Ludgate-bill*, within the Rules of the Prison; but the Warden refused me, so I could neither see Mr. Jones nor secure him,

as I intended: I am satisfied he is at a Friends House about Ten Miles off, waiting the Pleasure of the House. I am ready to go in Custody of Messengers, and in Chains, to fetch him; or if the House pleases to appoint a Committee, before mentioned, I know Mr. Jones will come privately to them; at what Time they shall appoint.

William Fuller.

After this, I was remanded to Prison, and ordered to be Prosecuted by Mr. Attorney-General, to whom I writ, it being in the Terms, as follows;

Fleet, February the 7th 1701.

Honour'd Sir,

I humbly beg that you will be pleased to bring me to my Tryal, pursuant to the Orders of the House of Lords and House of Commons, with as much speed as may be; for Thomas Jones, Esq; and John Inglesfeild, Gent. are now in Town, and the rest of my Witnesses, being forty five, are ready to do me Justice, by proving what I have Writ and Published. My Circumstances are but very mean, and every one that pleases takes the Liberty to Oppress and Abuse me. I can only comfort my self by knowing the goodness of my Cause, which I hope will appear on my Tryal; but if that be delay'd, I may starve; and my Witnesses living in divers parts of the Kingdom, I shall not have the opportunity as at this time of producing of them. Your Charity (as I shall esteem it) in grant-

granting my Petition, for a speedy Tryal, will ever oblige me to pray for your, &c.

William Fuller.

To the Honourable Mr. Attorney-General.

Fleet, February the 9th. 1701.

Honourable Sir,

I Had just now two or three Persons with me, and one of them shewed me a Letter that I sent you; therefore I must tell you, That if either the House of Lords, or House of Commons, will be pleased to let me go in Custody, I will fetch and produce. to either House, Thomas Jones, Esq; and John Ingelsfeild, Gent. and also bring in a very short time Forty five Witnesses more, to prove all I have Writ and printed. A desire again that my Tryal may be as speedy as conveniently your Honour can proceed. I am,

S I R,

Your Honours,

most obedient Servant.

William Fuller.

To the Honourable Edward North, Esq; Attorney-General.

Fleet, February 11. 1701.

I Desire you will acquaint the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, That if their Lordships will send me their Order to produce Thomas Jones, Esq; and John Inglesfeild, Gent. with other substantial Evidence to you privately, (at a time that you and the said Evidence shall by me appoint) for a meeting, with any others that the Lords shall be pleased to direct to be with you. And if their Lordships will be pleased to protect the said Mr. Jones and Mr. Inglesfeild, so that they shall not be detained, nor imprisoned, until you have laid their Informations and Depositions before the House of Lords, upon giving me ten Days time to bring them to you, as is, or shall be most safe and convenient; and that I may have Liberty in Custody, upon any urgent occasion, to meet them in the Rules of this Prison. On these Conditions here humbly offered, I do ingage to produce the said Jones and Inglesfeild, and others, in the Time above mentioned, as Witness my Hand.

Will. Fuller.

To the Honourable Mr. Attorney
General.

The

Fleet, February 13. 1701.

Honourable Sir,

THE Term being ended, several of my chief Witnesses are obliged to go into the Country to their respective homes. I most humbly therefore pray, that you will be pleased to order, that I may have timely notice when, and where, my Tryal shall be, that I may have my Witnesses ready, as I suppose the Laws allows.

If I might have the Honour to speak to you, I do assure you, Sir, that a very easie Method might be taken to bring Mr. Jones and others to you, for the satisfaction of the House of Lords, and the Service of the King and Nation; for whose Prosperity I shall ever pray, and study to promote. And I hope, by God's blessing, suddenly to retrieve my late Misfortunes, and to merit the Favour of those good Men who are now incensed against me. I am,

S I R,

Your Honour's most humble

and obedient Servant,

William Fuller.

To the Honourable Mr. Attorney General.

A fourth Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Fleet, February 23. 1702.

Honoured Sir,

I Am lately informed that some Person has publicly declared and charged me with having said, That your Honour was one of those that Mr. Thomas Jones charged with having taken French Money to betray the Interest of this Nation; I cannot therefore but humbly assure your Honour, and all Men, that I never directly nor indirectly said or writ any such thing, nor did I ever hear Mr. Jones mention your Honour but with all imaginable Respect as due to your Character, and that of being a faithful Friend to the present Government; and if I were so happy as to know the Author of that malicious Falsity, I should endeavour to do my self Right, to expose his Villany. I beseech your Honour to believe me innocent of mentioning so wicked a Charge against you,

you, for God knows, I never had such a Thought.
I am,

S I R,

Your Honour's

most humble

and devoted Servant,

William Fuller.

To the Honourable *Robert Harley*, Esq;
Speaker of the House of Commons.

Fleet, April 1. 1702.

My LORD,

I Humbly presume to represent to your Lordship, That
I stand committed to this Prison, and lie close
confined by a Warrant from the Lords Spiritual and
Temporal, in Parliament assembled, for having writ
and

and published two Books, The one Intituled, Twenty six Depositions, &c. proving the management of the suppositious Birth of the pretended Prince of Wales; and the other Intituled, Original Letters of the late King James, to his greatest Friends in England, with the Depositions of Thomas Jones and Thomas Witherington, Esquires. And whereas, I can undeniably prove, That I had received the said Depositions, from the Hands of the said Thomas Jones and Thomas Witherington, with their earnest desire that I would get them printed; and they being now near this City of London, I most humbly pray, That your Lordship will grant me your Warrant speedily, to apprehend and bring them before your Lordship, that they may be Examined concerning the truth of the said Depositions; by which it will, I humbly presume, appear, That I have done nothing Falsely nor Maliciously to Scandalize or Abuse any Man; and if I have been imposed on by the said Mr. Jones, Mr. Witherington, and others, I hope the Government will bring them to Justice, and that I may be dealt with according to my demerit.

I humbly beg leave to assure your Lordship, That whatever the World might think of my late Proceedings, concerning these Gentlemen, I am neither fond of being engaged in publick Matters, but where I saw it indispensably my Duty; and I bless God I am not so mad as to run my self headlong into Ruin, which I could not expect to avoid, if I had no Thomas Jones, Esq; with others, to prove what I had published by their Order.

If your Lordship will be pleased speedily to grant me your Warrant, the issue will be soon proved, and make it appear, That had either House of Parliament, or the Secretary of State, granted me a Power to bring
this

this Thomas Jones, Esq; in Custody, he had not been wanting when called for.

My Lord, my concern is great, which inforces the Repetition of my Petition for your Warrant; and if that be denied, I beseech your Lordship to interceed with the Queen, That I may be banished this Kingdom for ever, and not perish in Prison, where I am unreasonably Abused. I am

My LORD,

Your Lordship's,

most Humble,

and Devoted Servant

William Fuller.

To the Right Honourable Sir John
Holt, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of
the Queen's-Bench.

Having thus shewed you the Proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, I must in Duty acknowledge my own Disingenuity and Madness, in prevaricating with them, and not answering such Questions as were demanded of me; and what those are, I come now to shew as far as I can remember them. My Lord Keeper first, by Order of the House, asked me who those Members were that were now better acquainted with Mr. *Jones*, and which he could prove than they were the last Sessions.

To this I refused to reply, altho' I knew Col. *T. D.* and several others, did pretend to me that they had seen his Original Affidavits; but now the Matter was before the House they disowned it to me again.

Secondly, It was asked me again, who supported me and encouraged me in the printing those Libels. I owned I had borrowed a little Money of Mr. *Prime*, but did not acknowledge more than twenty Pounds, altho' it was one hundred and twenty; and *Prime* being called said, he had lent me only twenty, tho' the Sum was as I just now mention, nor did I name Sir *John Savile*, *Tutchin*, and the rest, who writ all the scandalous Matter, though I put my name to it.

As for my assertion of knowing the Justice of the Peace, who took the Affidavit, it was only by hearsay from *Jones* and others: But *Tutchin*, and my Companions, advised me to stand to it, perswading me the Lords and Commons would at last grant a Protection for all Witnesses I could bring in, and then they had enough for me; and Sir *John Savil*, *Prime*, *Murrae*, and the rest, during the time my Business was depending before the Lords, would hardly permit me to receive any other Company, for fear I should be advised to expose their Villany; and it is known to Mr. *Dawson*, at the three Tun Tavern, and others, That when I was there, they would know every Man's Name and Business that came to me. And *Tutchin* used to say, he would give a thousand Pounds, if he had it, That my Business might miscarry before the Lords, that the Commons might thereby have an opportunity to do me right, and thereby revenge the Affront the Lords put upon the last Sessions;
these

these Words Mr. *Prime* heard him speak before several others at the Tavern before named.

In a Word, all the matter relating to *Jones*, and the ground of those malicious and scandalous Matters published in my Name, I had very barely on the Word of *Jones*, and the Assertions of these other Men, and of better Figure in the World, whom I thought very honourable and honest; but too late I find they made me a Tool to set their own Inguine at Work, by which they intended to Ruin several of the greatest Men in the Kingdom.

But this I did not discern until after I was censur'd by the the Commons, and that I now affirm was most justly; but I remained stupidly blind, and neither the Displeasure of the Lords nor Commons, could convince me that I was in the wrong, until my Tryal was over at *Guild-hall*, in the City. It was, indeed, told me, by a Parson whom I knew not, but coming to the *Fleet* to see me, That *Tutchin* was turn'd against me, and that he the same Day I was last before the Commons, was called in, and had informed the House that to his Knowledge Mr. *Prime* lent me Money to carry on my Designs; and that I had told him, the Speaker was one of those mention'd, or meant by Letters, who in my said scandalous Pamphlets were charged with taking of Bribes from *France*. Indeed, had I considered how these Men, (all save *Prime*) left me after I was confined in the *Fleet*, or had I but considered what formerly I knew of *Tutchin's* Treachery to others; his writing for the Dissenters, then against them, and his vicious Course of Life, by which he had disobliged almost every Sober Man; That he made it his business to publish other Men's Crimes, and would at the same time daily be guilty of the like and worse himself. He is a Man who sometimes calls himself a Presbyterian, but no Man on Earth can more villanously abuse their worthiest Ministers than he has done; nor did he spare those of the Church of *England*, as appears by his two Books; *The Tribes of Levi*, and *the Apostates*, the first levied against the reverend Clergy of the Church of *England*, and the latter against the Dissenters, and both writ by this worthy Mr. *Tutchin*, now Author of the *Observator*, whose Tongue and Pen can change with every Wind. When I
heard

heard he was a Rogue I marvelled not somuch, for I heard *Jones* was in Town, and would appear at my Tryal, which I did so much rely upon, that I urged the bringing on my Tryal as much as in me lay; and in Order thereunto, I was by *Habeas Corpus* carried to the *Queen's-bench* Court at *Westminster*, where the Information was read, and I pleaded not Guilty. And *Jones* being then, as my Friends told me, gone out of Town, I desired a short time to produce him and other Witnesses, and the Tryal was appointed, and this being the third Day of *May*, my Tryal was to be on the twentieth of the same Month, at the *Guild-hall* in the City of *London*, before the Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, and I was carried there accordingly; being still answered by my false Friends, that *Jones* was at *Richmond*, and if I could prevail with my Lord Chief Justice to grant a Warrant to fetch *Jones*, they were in Court (as indeed they were, for I saw them) and would go and fetch him in eight Hours; and this occasioned my so confident insisting on such a Warrant at my Tryal, for I still did believe they were in earnest and honest to me. I could not deny the writing of those Books, and so was presently found Guilty: I did indeed write all after others, but the greatest part was *Tutchin's*, *Prime's* and others; and it is not strange that I should still persist in my stupid belief that *Jones* would appear before my Sentence was pronounced, which I was mightily promised, and as I thought, assured of; and relying on it, when at the next Term I was called to receive my Doom, being asked again, by the Lord Chief Justice *Holt* what I had to say before Sentence passed, I reply'd, *My Lord, I have faithfully served my Country formerly*, (which was owned, but was nothing to the present Matter.) Then I begged again for a Warrant to send for *Jones*, since he would not come without it; and if I did not then produce him in eight hours, I offered to stand Convicted, and worthy of the severest Punishment from my own Mouth; but no Warrant was granted, for my Lord told me, it was my concern to produce him, and not doing so I must suffer for the contrary. However Sentence was not passed that Day, and I was carried to *Westminster* three times more before it was given; but

but when it came it was just I own it, for my matchless Folly and Stupidity. The Judge who passed it, told me, I was brought there for a Crime hardly ever known before, and I was Censured by the Votes of two Houses of Parliament, and by their Vote ordered to be Prosecuted; he ingenuously laid before me the nature of the Crime, and then proceeded to give Sentence as follows,

That I should go to all the Courts in Westminster, with a Paper pin'd on my Hat expressing my Crime; That I should stand three times in the Pillory, two Hours at a time, on Friday following at Charing-Cross, on Saturday at Temple-bar, and on Monday before the Royal Exchange; That I should be sent to Bridewel the Friday after, and there be whipt, and afterwards kept to hard Labour, until the second Day of the next Term; and to be fined a Thousand Marks.

All this was Executed, and at my standing in the Pillory never was Man amongst *Turks* or Barbarians known to be worse used. I was sadly abused at *Charing-Cross*, but at *Temple-bar* I was stifled with all manner of Dirt, Filth and rotten Eggs; and my Left Eye was so bruised with a Stone slung, that it swelled out of my Head immediately, the blow deprived me of my Senses, and I fell down, (not wilfully as some say) and hung by the Neck. Three times was I served in that kind, losing all manner of Sense, tho' I fell down but twice; and being almost Dead, I was by Order taken out, but felt not my release, nor was I sensible of any thing for some Hours after. I was a miserable Object to behold, and hardly any that saw me thought it possible for me to survive. I was all over bruised from Head to Heel; and on the small of my Back, as I stood stooping, a Stone struck me, which being taken up, was found to weigh more than six Pounds. On Monday in the City, I was more tenderly

ly used, after having made my Complaint to Sir James Bateman, then Sheriff, in the following Letter.

Gountry Men and Friends,

THE hard and cruel Usage I met with on Friday and Saturday last, and the Bruises and Wounds I have about my Body and Head, with (as 'tis fear'd) the loss of my Eye, These, I say, with my present Weakness and Indisposition, occasioned thereby, gives me just reason to believe I shall not go alive from this Place. I stand here for writing and publishing two Books; I call God to Witness, That I designed nothing but the service of the late King and his Government; and to my Knowledge, as I shall answer at the Day of Judgment, there is nothing contained in them that is false. As for what I published for Mr. Jones, it is not of my own Knowledge, nor do I accuse any Ministers, or others, of taking Bribes from France; but I had his Affidavit from his own Hand, and it was affirm'd to me to be true by some others, who are Persons of worth; and if they impos'd on the unhappy immaturity of my Judgment, I can now only pray God to forgive them; for I solemnly declare, That I am of no Party, nor ever had any Encouragement from any Dissenters whatsoever, in this Matter. I have served my Country faithfully, with the hazard of my Life and loss of Friends; and in the Year 1690 it is evidently known, and allowed by all great and good Men, that by God's blessing, I secured the Peace of this Nation, and prevented the design of the greatest Invasion ever intended from France, as is sufficiently Certifi'd by his Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury, and made manifest from Mr. Crone's Tryal; but I am contented to be silent, and commit my Case to the most just and merciful God. I freely forgive all my Enemies, and beseech him to Pardon the many false and wicked

wicked Stories that they have invented and published against me. And altho' my Country has used me so unkindly, I heartily pray God to preserve their present established Constitution and Protestant Government, That the Queen's Reign may be long and prosperous; her Councils faithful, and her People obedient. I entreat all to Pardon me whom I have any ways offended; and because my Enemies are implacable, I the more ardently beseech God to turn their Hearts, and work in them and me, all that Good which may make us acceptable in his Sight.

Monday 28th
of June 1702.

On Friday, when I was carried to Bridewel, I was very Sick and Weak, but nothing avail'd; I must suffer, and had 39 lashes. Being Iron'd with heavy Fetters, I was sent down immediately to hard Labour, and not so much as allowed to be dressed; which favour was never denied any before, insomuch, that when I came from Work at Night the Blood had dyed my Shirt and Skin together, so that both came off. I had a violent Fever, but must to Work the next Day by Six. I was barbarously used by some of the petty Officers of the place, and was inhumanly beat and bruised by one of the Arts-Masters; for which he had no reasonable pretence, as the Court after a full hearing of the Matter declared, and obliged him to beg Pardon, to pay the Surgeon, and never to strike me again. I pay'd five Shillings a Week for a Bed in the two penny Room, and accordingly for all things else.

Let me tell you, courteous Reader, 'twas here I first saw my Folly; and Sir John Savil, Tutchin, and all the rest of my former Friends, at this time shewed themselves in their true colours; and some of them hearing I had writ to the Right Honourable the Earl of Nottingham, to confess my own Crimes and theirs, came to Bridewel in a riotous manner, and a Hector for Sir John Savil went to draw

draw his Sword on me, as I was at Work. *Jonas* was once there to see me, but behaved himself decently; and thus much, after all, I must say, he has all along carried it most fair to me, for he never urged me to any thing, but left it to my own discretion; and for what real cause he could not appear (tho' many Reasons were urged) is to me, as to all the World, yet a great mystery. I must conclude that he has deceived me, I am sure the others did, and those wicked and malicious Scandals contained in the Book were not his Assertions, as there expressed, tho' he did pretend to prove much of that Kind; but the Persons before mentioned, when the Book was going to the Press, altered what they thought fitting, and I thinking they had Witnesses to prove it writ it after them, for which I have suffered, and am now a Prisoner in the common side of the Queen's Bench; lodg'd under Ground in close nauseous holes, such as a Gentleman would hardly put a Dog into that he loved; we have no Air, nor is there any thing but Misery to be seen: I have been also kept in Irons, tho' only a Prisoner for Debt, and all my usage, in the Execution of my Sentence, has been barbarous beyond comparison, which makes me, with holy *Jab*, cry out, *Pity me! pity me! O ye my Friends; for the hand of the Lord is upon me.*

A short Account of my Tryal, with the particular Crimes laid to my Charge therein.

FORasmuch as my Intentions are fully to shew my own Crimes, and impartially to discover what others have done, and how far they have been conducing to my undoing, I shall in the next place give you a brief Account of my Tryal, and set down what the particular Crimes laid to my

my Charge were, and this I cannot better perform than by inserting the Heads of the Information, brought against me by her Majesties Attorney General, which is as follows.

The Queen against *William Fuller*, upon an Information for Libels.

That the Defendant did falsely intend the late King William and his Subjects, to delude and deceive, and to bring the Noblemen, and great Officers, and Ministers, and other faithful Subjects into hatred and contempt with the said late King; and that the said William Fuller, the first Day of January, at London, &c. to perfect and bring to pass his said wicked Practices and Intentions, and of and concerning, a Correspondence between divers Officers and Subjects, of the said late King, and the late King James, while he resided at St. Germans in France, falsely pretended to be had, and of, divers Sums of Money by the said late King James distributed amongst the Subjects of the late King William; falsely pretended to be sent here into England; did wickedly, &c. write and print, and cause to be printed, a false, scandalous and defamatory Libel, Intituled, Original Letters of the late King James and others, to his greatest Friends in England; with the Depositions of Thomas Jones and Thomas Witherington, Esq; proving the Corruptions lately practised to ruin this Nation. In which Libel is contained, (Page the first) Thomas Jones deposes, That he being at St. Germans, (the Court of the late King James) in France, 1692. the said late King being in his Closet sent for this Deponent, and there commanded this Deponent to begin his Journey for England, in company with Colonel Thomas Dalleval, and Mr. George Hayes; and the said late King, then and there, delivered to this Deponent several Letters and Papers, to divers Noblemen and others, in England, to whom this Deponent had several times before, and since brought Letters from the late King and Queen, and pretended Secretaries of State, delivered according to Order. This Deponent further saith, by the Oath be hath taken, That the late King James, (at the time aforesaid)

said) in his Cloſet at St. Germans, did deliver to this Deponent a Paper, being an Order, for this Deponent to receive ſix thouſand Pounds; which Sum this Deponent was to pay to ſeveral Perſons in places of Truſt, then in England, to engage them more firmly to endeavour the Invalidating the Evidence of *William Fuller*; who as the ſaid late King expreſſed, had been by him, his Queen, and chief Servants, intruſted and employ'd in the moſt weighty and ſecret Concerns for a conſiderable time after the late King and Queen's coming for France. And in Page 7, this Deponent ſaith, He informed Mr. Fuller that *Dalleval* and *Hayes* were come to Town, and lodged at an Apothecaries in Holborn, which Houſe *Hayes* formerly lodged at; and that *Dalleval* not being well, they could not come to him; therefore this Deponent ſaid to Fuller, That they deſired him to come to them; but he urged his Condition rendred him unfit, begging of the Deponent to entreat them not to fail to attend the Houſe of Commons at the time appointed; all which this Deponent imparted the ſame Day to Col. *Thomas Dalleval* and Mr. *Hayes*, and then went the ſame Evening to three Gentlemen that were then Members of Parliament; and this Deponent had a Letter from one of thoſe three Gentlemen (that was a Member of Parliament) directed to one of the Secretaries, to the then Secretary of State, which this Deponent was to carry to him the next Morning, which accordingly he did by ſeven of the Clock; and this Deponent ſaith, He paid the under Secretary 500 Guineas; and this Deponent ſaith, when he left the Secretary he went directly to the Sun Tavern in King's ſtreet, Weſtminſter, where he found the three Members with *Dalleval* and *Hayes*, and an eminent Banker of the City of London. Then this Deponent deſired the Banker to give each of theſe three Gentlemen (which had been Members of Parliament) a Bill for 1000 l. payable on ſight; which being done, the ſaid Banker delivered to one of them alſo his Bill for 1500 l. to be paid on demand, for the uſe of a conſiderable Perſon, whoſe Station would not permit him to be preſent; and this Deponent ſaith, by the Oath he hath taken, that the ſeveral Sums of Money, before mentioned, with ſeveral leſſer parcels, were ſo diſpoſed of by him, according to the late King's eſpecial direction; and this Deponent ſaith, he has now by him the

Receipts

Receipts of each Person for the respective Bills and Monies he disposed of with; with the true Copies of his Original Bills delivered to him, by the late King's own Hand. This Deponent saith, he delivered to the late King a Letter that he had from the three Gentlemen that were Members; and also several others that he brought from England; and forasmuch as, this Deponent saith, as he has been employed to bring Letters, Bills and Orders from the late King James and the French King, and their Ministers; this Deponent saith, That he has kept a Journal of the same, and is ready to lay it before either, or both Houses of Parliament when required; and this Deponent also saith, by the Oath he has taken, that he can produce his Original Orders, that he received from the late King's, and the French King's own Hands, for the distributing of more than one hundred fourscore thousand Pounds Sterling, for their use, to Persons in places of Trust; and this Deponent saith, he can produce the Receipt of each Person to whom the Money was paid, and also the Persons from whom this Deponent received the said Sum or Sums, by Order aforesaid;

Thomas Jones.

This being the substance of the Information brought against me, as it was contained in my first and second Book, all to the same purpose, I pleaded not Guilty; and what induced me to believe I was, and to plead so, I come now most ingenuously to shew and beg leave to be particular therein, the more clearly to convince the Reason of such as are not prejudic'd against me beyond the bounds of common Charity, or such who will rather give way to Reason than be wilfully partial against me, without any other Grounds than merely this (which is all many have) That I must be always a Liar and a Rogue, because their Neighbours or Acquaintance, or some Body else, they know not who, has told them I am so. First then, as to what I am about to offer, you may see that all this

scandalous, malicious and dangerous Matter was set out in the names of *Thomas Jones* and *Thomas Wisbrington*; and as for *Mr. Jones*, I have told you before that I knew him, how long, when and where, and how we came acquainted, and therefore considering all those Circumstances, I had as I thought, reason sufficient to think, he would not deceive me above all, having those pretended Depositions under his own Hand, and delivered to me by him; then the Confirmation of *Sir John Savil*, *Col. Thomas D.* *Dr. C—m*, *John Tutchin*, *Mr. Inglesfeild*, and several others, Men of Quality and Worth, all averring, nay swearing to me, that they saw *Jones* make the Depositions; adding, That he did it before some of them in the Country, and afterwards in presence of the rest in Town, for their satisfaction, and particularly to gratifie a great Man, who lives near the House of Commons, who afterwards invited me to *Hampton Court* several times, and he had the Depositions, and assured me several times that he shewed them to the King; and until this noble Gentleman did encourage me, I durst not go to Court, for this was in *November 1701*, and in *May* before, I being in the King's Withdrawing Room at *Kennington*, and delivering a Petition to his Majesty as he was going into Council, *Mr. Southwel*, one of the Clerks of the Privy Council, was sent to me by the King's Order, to command me to forbear coming to Court; and from that time I went no more into the King's Presence, until some time after his return from *Holland*, and had the aforesaid encouragement, upon which I went to Court almost every Day from that time, which as above, was in *November*, until the time the Lords committed me; and although I appeared frequently in the King's presence, I had no Reprimand from his Majesty, nor any about him; but most contrary wise. for I gave my Books publickly to the Courtiers for a Month together, and had many thanks for them, from the great Men of the Kingdom, who I presume then as well as my self might judge them to be true; and in plain, I took it for granted, that all the Ministers had been informed of the Truth of the Contents from those Gentlemen concerned with me; by whose direction and advice, I put this bold Assertion in my Epistle

to the first Book, viz. *I tell you, by Authority, that several Members of both Houses of Parliament are now better satisfied and acquainted with what Jones, &c. can prove, and what service he can do, then there was the last Sessions of Parliament, &c.* But when I was before the House of Lords, found none of those Gentlemen that undertook to do this, would appear to say one Word in Vindication of my Assertion, tho' I did it by their Order, and trusted to their Honour; but when I had occasion for them, and it being demanded of me by the Lords, who those Members were that knew what Jones had done, and could do, I was forwarned to be dumb; for say they, should you name us, it will ruin the Matter in Hand; No, says some of them, *I must look shy at you at Westminster, as if I hardly knew you, if it be intended that I shall do the Nation Service, or you Justice in Parliament.* These Gentlemen, no doubt; foresaw what Questions would be demanded me, for they provided me with such Answers as should secure themselves and ruin me; they did not, indeed, positively tell me it would be asked of me, who gave me Authority to publish the Book by Command, &c. as I had put it into the Title Page; but they advised me, if any such Question were demanded, to say I did it by Mr. Jones's command, and that he would prove the Contents; and the second or third Day that I was before the Lords, their Lordships unknown to me, had ordered a Messenger to be sent into Hampshire, to Mr. Justice Hobby, to know whether or no Mr. Jones had made any such Depositions before him; upon which notice was immediately sent me of the same, as I was dining with Mr. Tutchin at Mr. Peirse's at the Haunch of Venison in the Palace-yard, and I was advised to go up immediately to the House of Lords, and coming there, I found the Lords just risen, and my Lord Keeper discoursing with his Grace the Duke of Bolton, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Southampton, and their Lordships desired me to get one of my Books, which accordingly I did, and by their direction gave to the Clerk of the House, and presently after Mr. Tutchin and I was sent for to meet several of our Club that Night, where my first and long Letter, to my Lord Keeper was contrived and drawn out, in

Order to be delivered the next Morning, that some Objections against me, thereby might be removed, and a longer time given for Mr. Jones's coming to appear. I was mighty uneasy concerning Mr. *Withrington's* being absent, which *Tutchin* and others pretended to give me several Reasons for, but to speak Truth, there was no such Man; for the Person they brought to personate *Withrington* was, as I have most certainly learn'd of late, a *Scotch* Gentleman, and this was contrived by Sir *John Savil*, Dr. *C* — — and Mr. *Tutchin*, who by my Discourse had found, That twelve Years ago I knew one *Withrington* at *St. Germans*, a young Gentleman; and *Tutchin* one Day asking me if I knew such a Man, I told him I had but an imperfect remembrance of him, upon which immediately he was brought into my Company at a Quakers Tavern in *Westminster*, Sir *John Savil* and others, being present, and the next Day they pretended to take him to a Justice of the Peace to make his Depositions, and that being a confirmation of Mr. Jones, I must by all means print them, for my own justification as well as for the publick Service; this pretended *Withrington* appeared very handsomly, and like a Man of Quality, and to the best of my remembrance was much like that *Withrington* I knew in *France*, so I was easily deceived, tho' I relied on their Honour and Honesty. But my Letter mentioned before recited at large, having been read in the House of Lords, their Lordships, as you see, gave me longer time for Jones's appearing, which was improved by *Tutchin* and the rest for their Security, and to my Ruin, for it was morally impossible for me to escape, by reason they kept me from the other Company, so that I was forced to do as they advised me; and in this Ignorance was I led up until the time of my Tryal. And having before given you so many Instances of their Treachery, I could not do less than mention these, and shew you how devilish their Malice was, which appears from the substance of the pretended Depositions, as recited in the Information brought against me, by which the least (or best of their Designs) if I may so call them, was by my Book to bring into disgrace several great Men, which are so plainly hinted at, that every one that reads may guess at them; and

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by what I have since learn'd, by woful Experience. I may reasonably say, that these Men did design, if Witnesses could have been found, to have taken the lives of those worthy Lords and Gentlemen away, since the Treasons they charged them with are of the blackest dye. I crave leave to set down one remarkable piece of Mr. *Tutchin's* Policy and Knavery, for as soon as he and the gang knew of my being summoned before the House of Lords, he comes to me, insinuating that by all means I must let them have my Papers, and all the Depositions they had given me, alledging, That if the *Jacobites* should murder me, as most certainly they would endeavour, why then all the Papers would be lost, and the only means to secure them was to put them into the hands of Sir *John Savil*, Sir *Thomas*—— and Dr. C——m; further he said, if the Lords should deal hardly with me, no doubt but my Papers would be seized if I were committed; and this having been done by the Commons formerly, I consented to his Arguments and Desire, and thereby committed the greatest Folly of my Life, save that for which I suffer; by this means they used me at pleasure, and at my Tryal I found the dismal Consequence of all their specious Pretences.

Having ingenuously shew'd you the occasion of my great Misfortunes, I hope it may be now acceptable, to know my more secret Intrigues, which I freely own, and am sorry for having committed them, as well as I am, that my hard usage should ever reduce me to such mean and base shifts. All the Plea that I shall make for my excuse is, That I truly ruined my Fortune by serving the Publick, and having from my Birth been bred up high, and the greatest part of my Life being at Court, amongst Persons of the first Rank, where I was accustomed to high eating and drinking, and my Soul rais'd above indifferent Things. Then my Prince's Promise, and my own real Merit, I may modestly say, did intitle me to some considerable Employ, or Provision to be made for me, for which I had the greatest Assurance, as I thought, that Man could possibly have, tho' there is, I may say, no Trust in Man, no not in Princes. I shall begin first with my Exploits in *Holland*,

An impartial Account of some secret Intrigues, Tricks and Shams, &c. whereby the good Subjects of this, and other Kingdoms have been impos'd on.

AT the Royal Congress at the *Hague*, I borrowed fifty Pounds of one Mr. *William Russel*, a *Scotch-man*, and a Merchant of *Rotterdam*. I was recommended to him by the Earl of *Melvin*, then Secretary of State for *Scotland*, and with this Lord I had a great Interest, for he very well knew what Services I had done for the King and Nation; and on that score he gave me a Letter of Recommendation to this Mr. *Russel*, desiring him to do me any Service in his Power; and the other I found very ready, insomuch, that had I asked him for five hundred Pounds I might have had it. I made a considerable Figure at this time, for I had my Coach and six, several Led-horses, and fifteen Servants in Livery; but that I ever pretended to be a Lord is utterly false, tho' my appearance by my Equipage gained me much Respect, and I was vain enough to be pleas'd with it. At my return for *England*, I paid this 50 *l.* to Mr. *Russel's* Correspondent, one Mr. *Hamilton* a Merchant, and it being my good Fortune to occasion both an Acquaintance and a strict tie of Friendship betwixt his Grace the late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Melvin*, (which latter is of the Kirk of *Scotland*) I became a mighty Favourite amongst many of the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry, insomuch, that my Lord *Melvin* himself, and several others, both lent me several Sums of Money, and gave me large Presents; and when I made my escape from the Officers belonging to the Marshal of the Queen's Bench, *W. Hamilton*, Esq; took Lodgings for me at a Barbers in *St. James's Market*, where I lay concealed until I went for *Holland* in the *Mary Yacht*, in which Passage I had the honour

honour to be in company with the Lady *Dursley* (whose Lord was then Envoy at the *Hague*) the Countess of *Tankerville*, my Lord's Sister, and another Maiden Lady of that noble Family; we had likewise Sir *John St. Alban*, as I before mention on board, and going to Lantary-loo with the Ladies, I lost about two hundred and thirty Guineas, so that I had not left me, to defray my Passage and Journey to the King, above twelve Pounds, and the first Night we were on Shoar Sir *John* and I spent about Six Pounds, and going to the *Hague* we met with my Lord *Warwick*, and my Money was gone at once. I was then obliged to make again to my Friend *Russel*, who not only lent me five hundred Guilders, but offered to give me a Bill of Credit to *Brussels* for what Money I had occasion; this I refused, as knowing that I should, upon any necessity, be furnished by Monsieur *Eckert*, the King's Resident there, as accordingly I was; for the five hundred Guilders did not carry me to the Camp, which I skip over, as having already told you what I did there, and come to my being return'd to *Brussels*, where upon the delay of a little Bill from my Lord *Portland*, I was obliged to keep my Chamber in my Inn for about thirty Pounds Sterling that I owed the Man of the House, for a Coach and six that I had in the Camp; but of this confinement I was releas'd by Mr. *Brand*, a Scotch Merchant, and was departed for *Rotterdam* with Mr. *Meriscoe* the Messenger, the very Day before the King's Resident had Orders to pay me fifty Pounds. I travelled with the said *Brand* and *Meriscoe*, but Money was short until I came to my Friend *Russel* again, who lent me twenty pounds more, and then I went to the *Hague*, where I left *Brand* and *Meriscoe*, and set out for *Amsterdam*, where upon our arrival, he carries me to see his Uncle, who is a considerable Merchant, and lived formerly in *England*, and his Lady a very good Woman, born in *England*, and of the Family of *Lethulears*; here we were kindly treated, and *Meriscoe* having been very wild and extravagant, his Uncle was mightily pleased to see him in such sober Company as I appeared to be; and one Sunday we went to Church with them very gravely; but our Money was gone, and I had sent a Servant to

Mr. Loo, to my Lord Portland for Money; however, *Meriscoe* tells his Uncle that I was a Knight, and Sir *William Fuller*, at which I was at first surpriz'd, but we wanted Money, and thought that was a step to Credit, so I took it very well, and we struck the Merchant for twenty Pounds, which did not last long, for I bought Linnen, and we fell to gaming, so that by the time my Man came back from *Loo*, the Money was all spent and I in Debt, but he brought me fifty Pounds; then I must needs buy other Things, and having several bangers on we consumed apace, and from thence departed for *Rotterdam*, in order to Imbark for *England*; but at this place I was obliged again to trouble Mr. *Russel* for twenty Pounds more, which he readily complied with, but took notice that I was very Extravagant. And whilst I was here I met Capt. *Collins*, the Commander of the *Mary Yacht*, who brought me over, but I had not paid him, only gave him a Bill on Mr. *Russel*, which he would not pay, it being for Ten pounds, and that only for a bear Passage; the Captain saluted me a little groutly, saying, *Sir, your Bill was not honoured, so that I have it, and hope you will not sham me.* I ask'd his pardon, and putting my Hand into my Pocket I gave him a five Pistole piece of Gold and a Guinea, telling him I would be more civil when I saw him at *London*. The Captain was very thankful, and said it was enough, and the next Day I went to *Helver-sluce*, in order to see some Friends there, and so to the *Brill*, and there Imbark in the Packet-Boat. But I must not leave *Helver-sluce* without telling you that there I was met by a Dutch Lady, who falling in Love with me at the *Hague*, had a full resolve to go for *England* with me, and she brought with her a fine parcel of Diamonds, and other precious Things, besides much Gold and her Cloths; I liked the fond Thing very well, and she offered me all she had, which I refused, and consulting with a worthy Merchant there, he advised me to perswade her to return home, for her Father would most certainly pursue her and fetch her back, and the Wind being just in our Teeth there was no going out, so that he would also get me Arrested, and give me much trouble; upon the consideration of what my Friend said,

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I was of his Mind ; so I did with much ado prevail with her to return home, upon my promise of coming back to *Holland*, as soon as possibly I could, in order to obtain her Fathers consent to marry her ; and I went my self almost to the *Hague* to see her safe there ; and of all her Riches I took only a small Ring, for which I gave her another in lieu thereof. Then I went to the *Brill* with my Company, *Meriscoe*, *Leaver*, and my Servants, the Wind being still contrary. Whilst we lay at the *Brill* comes a young impudent *English* Fellow, formerly a Servant to the Dutchess of *Mazarine*, and desiring to speak with me, told me he would have me lend him five Pounds to carry him to *England*, otherwise he would tell those People with me such Stories of me, as would damnably expose me. I was damnably surpriz'd at his Impudence, and offer'd to kick him ; upon which, he tells those People that I had borrowed two hundred Pounds of Major General *Kirk*, and that I was run away from the Camp to avoid paying him. And this his Story was a little harkened unto by my Company, especially by *Mr. Leaver*, who was a zealous *Jacobite* ; and altho' he had lived spunging upon me, and put me to twenty Pounds charge at least for his own share, yet I having borrowed ten Pounds of him, he wanted his Money again, and seem'd uneasy ; but the Wind coming fair we embarked and came for *England* ; and at every Corporation on the Road I was jealous of this Fellows giving me trouble for his ten Pounds ; but I sent my Servants and Trunks to *London* by Water ; and when we came to Town it was late, and *Leaver* living in the City, *Meriscoe* and I took Coach for *St. James's*, where I lodged in the same House with *Mr. Hamilton*, my Lord *Melvin's* Secretary kept his Office. But we had agreed with *Leaver* to meet him about four Days after, and that I was to give him a Haunch of Venison and to pay him his Money ; but this being the time after my escaping from the Queen's Bench, the Marshal having had notice of my being come to Town, his Emissaries found out my Lodging, and I seeing them at the Door one Morning, went over five Houses to that of an Acquaintance, and

so got from them. Then I had Lodgings taken at a Builder's, in the new Buildings by the Charter-house, for which I paid twelve Shillings *per* Week; and here I lay some time, and was visited by the Arch-bishop himself, and his Son-in-law *James Chadwick, Esq;* the Earl of *Melvin*, and several other Persons of Quality. However, the fright those Fellows had put me in at *St. James's* made me very shy of going abroad, save in the Night time, which I frequently did; and I remember, being there upon *Horn-Fair* Day, I was dressed in my Landladies best Gown, and other Womens Attire, and to *Horn-Fair* we went, and as we were coming back by Water, all the Cloaths were spoiled by dirty Water, &c. that was flung on us, in an inundation, for which I was obliged to present her with two Guineas to make Atonement for the Damage sustained. But fearing to meet my Guest, to eat the Venison in the City, they had a great disappointment, for *Mr. Leaver* carries several Friends with him to the Rummer in *Queen's-street* (the place appointed) and *Meriscoe* met him; but *Fuller* nor the Venison came not, so they sat staring, fretting and laughing, and afterwards were very diligent to find me out, and to Arrest me for *Leaver's* ten Pounds, and the twenty Pounds I had borrowed of *Meriscoe's* Uncle at *Amsterdam*.

At length, by the treachery of my Footman, they found out my Lodgings, and came one Night very late with two Serjeants, or Boms, from *Wood-street* Counter, and I being in Bed, and my Servants both abroad, they told the Landlord of the House that I was a Traitor, and they had a Warrant of high Treason against me; so that if he did not call me up (for I had lock'd all my Doors to my self) they would break them open; so the Landlord being frighted with what they said, came up Stairs, and they with him; he knocking at the Door wak'd me out of my Sleep, and I getting out of Bed opened the Door, thinking no body but my Landlord had been there; but when I had done this, I was soon let know what treatment I must expect; and my Landlord finding it was only an Arrest for Debt, was heartily sorry for what he had done, and would himself have bail'd me. But I having just then agreed

agreed with the Marshal of the Queen's Bench to surrender my self in two Days after, I knew a *Habeas Corpus* would pay them for the present, and I would not, nor did I ever in my Life suffer any Man to be bound for me. I was hurried away by one *Cooper*, the Officers and others, in a barbarous, inhumane manner, but took my Lodgings at the Hen and Chickens in *Wood-street*, a Spunging-house, where I was well known; and before my *Habeas Corpus* was returned, it was that the House of Commons, in *Novem.* 1691, did Address the King to lay before them my Lord *Preston* and Mr. *Crone's* Confession, which opportunity I took to lay my fatal Matters before the House; but being carried back to the Queen's Bench, I was lodged at one *Weaver's*, a Tip-staff, paying forty Shillings per Week for my Diet and Lodging, besides a suitable rate for two Servants, and here I continued until *February* the 24th following, that the Parliament voted me an Impostor, &c.

After that, being close confined, I was about four Months on the Master side; but Money growing short, I was turned into the Common-side, and for eight Weeks begged my Bread; but afterwards my Relations were kind, and I had no want but that of my Liberty, which I was deprived of from *February* 1691 until the 17th Day of *June* 1695.

The first Exploit, which I have not already mentioned, after my being abroad, was my going to *Dover*, where a Lady in the adjacent Country, being a Widow, gave me all imaginable encouragement to visit her, and I took the opportunity to make Love to her Gold, which she lent me on every occasion, tho' at that time I had no occasion for it, only as it lightly came it lightly went, for I never refused any that asked me, to give them liberally; and if any wanted a Treat upon the least Acquaintance they might have it from me; but having another Adventure, at this time on my Hands, with a young Lady that I loved, this old she Fox, near *Dover*, had pursued the Scent so closely, that her injur'd Love, as she called it, must be reveng'd; and as for Money, I must have

have no more unless I would be contented to take to the state of Matrimony, and I being flushed, told her, I would be damned first. At which she fairly flew at me, tore my Wig all to pieces, setting her Nails on my Face; I was at last forced to use my Hands and Knees to get rid of her; and then calling for my Horses to leave her House, she calm'd her Temper, and intreated me to stay. I told her, that I never should expose her, if she by imprudent Actions, unbecoming her Years, did not make her self the sport of all that knew her; and as for what Money I had received from her, I would honestly restore it as soon as I could; and if I might be welcome, I intended to continue my Visits, for the future, as a Friend; but as Marriage was her proposal, the difference of our Age was such, that I never could think of it.

However, we parted good Friends; but a Woman's Rage was soon stirred in her, and she imployes one Mr. Lovelace, an Attorney in *Chancery*, to get me Arrested in her name. This Gentleman had more Honour, at least to this Lady, than Lawyers usually have, and seeing thro' the matter, advised her to let it alone for a while; but she thought I was in haste to be married to her Rival, and nothing would serve until I was in Prison; but Mr. Lovelace gave me intimation of her Resolution, and desired me for a while to leave that part of the Country, which I did; but this enraged her to such a degree, that she was never more reconciled to Mr. Lovelace, nor to me, tho' for my own part I confess, I never did much seek it, nor intend it, and six Months after I paid her the one half, which she returned the next Day, and a Month after, in *London*, Arrested me for the whole, then discharged me again, and being since married, sent her good old Husband to demand the same, which I confess I cannot pay; and since her Spleen continues, I think, it will not be imputed a Crime for me to give this Relation, which I should not have done had not her own Imprudence provoked me; especially considering that she is so well known, and that her Love to me was no secret in *Kent*.

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I proceed next to the hidden part of my Journey into *Romney Marsh* with the three Messengers, to take Traitors; and into this Affair I was artificially engaged by some whose Names I shall omit, by reason they are known to the Ministers of State, and I must be silent: However, I got nothing by going but my bear Trouble for my Pains, and was to have my Diet paid for at the King's charge; but the Messengers instead thereof, put me to bear my own Expences and more. Their Money falling short I was forced to engage my Credit there to one *Win*, a famous old Owler, for twenty Guineas, which he lent me upon giving him a Bill on Mr. *Humfreys*, a Non-con-Parson, who has a considerable Estate, and lives in great *Russel-street*. This Gentleman and his Lady were my most indulgent Friends, and the greatest Encouragers I had upon my first printing the discovery of the true Mother of the young Gentleman at *St. Germain's*. The twenty Guineas I lent and spent among the Messengers, with treating him that lent it; and returning to *London*, I found my Friend *Humfreys* would not pay the Bill, and the Messengers would not pay me, so that I could by no means satisfy the same; then old *Win* would have Arrested me for the same; but I took Sanctuary at my Lodgings in the *Fleet*; and doing him some Service afterwards, in getting his Son discharged out of the Messengers Hands, we compounded the matter: And this is all the Crime that has been so loudly proclaimed against me.

My next fault was, running twenty five Pounds in debt to one Mr. *Barnes*, at the New Exchange, for Silks, &c. which he forced on me, and my Misfortunes coming thick on the back of one another, I could not presently pay him; and this my Enemies have also magnified against me. My secret Adventures in the *North* fall next under my Cognisance, which I shall shew plainly; and this was such an Adventure as surpassed all the rest.

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I had some Relations near *Barwick*, Persons of worth, and in *May* 1689, as I have before hinted, I took Shipping in a Collier, Mr. *Metcalf* (whose Wife keeps a Linen Shop on the East-side of *Tower-hill*) being Master, and a jolly Quaker, I embarked with two Servants, Trunks and all things necessary just as the Ship was under Sail, having about two Hours before been aboard of him and agreed for my Passage, and when I came again, I was brought in a pair of Oars, by *Williams*, the Duke of *Richmond's* Waterman, who knew me very well, and I pay'd him nobly; he honour'd me mightily, insomuch, that the Quaker thought I was some Lord or very great Man, and his Wife being aboard, with another holy Sister who kept a Tavern, I was carried into the great Cabin to them, and treated with very good Wine; and when we came before *Gravesend*, the Master was to go a-shoar to clear the Ship, and to send back his Lady, and the other, for *London*. I would not go a-shoar, but gave him three Letters directed to several Lords, which he was to see put into the Post-Office; and my Servant went with him to buy Fowls, Lamb and Gard'ners Wire for my own eating; besides I sent a Message, by the Master, to Mr. *Masson* who clears the Ships there, and was formerly my Servant. This did me great Honour, and at his coming back I had his own Bed, the best of Linnen, and every thing in the nicest Order; then we set Sail, and at our coming into *Yarmouth* Road, the Wind not being fair, we, at my Request, went a-shoar, and I invited all the Passengers to accompany me; and being landed the first Persons I saw were, two Officers of *Selwin's* Regiment that I had been very kind and civil unto when I lived at *Twitnam*; these were glad to see me, and I them, so we went to a Tavern in the Market-place, where I ordered two or three Dishes of Mear, and we drank Wine in abundance; I making my Quaker-fer next me he drank as heartily as any in the Company. We had also the Town Musick, and the Drums and Hautbois of the Regiment; and being all drunk but my self and the Master, I paid the Reckoning, which ran very high, and then we at Eleven at Night, with
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all our Musick, Drums, &c. went the whole length of the Town and took Water, having allarm'd the Place so, that all the Inhabitants came to see us; but we took to our Boat without the Gate, and went aboard, setting Sail immediately, and in thirty six Hours we came to *Timmouth* Bar. Now I had spent almost all my Money, but my Ship Master was so taken with me, that I might have what Credit I pleased, if I went no farther than *Newcastle*, where he waited on me and lodged me at his Friend's House, lending me twelve Pounds, and I gave him my Bill on my Uncle *Herbert* for twenty Pounds, which he sent by the first Post to *London*, then departed back to *Shelds* to his Ship, desiring his Kinsman, one Mr. *Ily*, to be careful of me, and to supply me with whatever I wanted, so I had five Pounds more of him. Now in my Passage, we had in the Ship a young Man, and Servant to *John Clavering*, Esq; of *Chopwel*, near *Newcastle*, and this Person having heard at *Tarmouth* who I was, and remembring that his Master had seen my Book, and was pleased therewith, he tells him, That the Gentleman who wrote it was come to *Newcastle*, and in Town, which Mr. *Clavering* wondring at, had a longing Desire to see me; and thereupon consults with *William Johnson*, of *Kibbelsworth*, Esq; how they might get into my Company, which was accomplished by the means of Mr. *Ily*, who after Dinner desired that I would walk upon the Keys with him, which I consenting unto, Mr. *Clavering* and Mr. *Johnson* were there, and falling into Discourse with *Ily*, he took me aside and said, those two Gentlemen, being as Worthy and Rich Men as any in those Parts, had a great Honour for me, and begged that I would go and drink with them, which I consented unto; and on the same Night we became mighty well acquainted, and I must by all means Dine with them the next Day, and a Coach was sent for me accordingly, and Mr. *Johnson* came himself to accompany me: In short, I had all imaginable Respects pay'd me, and those Gentlemen never left me; but Mr. *Johnson* understanding by my Mo-
tions

tions that I wanted Money, he immediately, unasked, fetch'd me thirty Guineas, and bid me command what more I pleased. However, I was uneasy about the Bill that I had given to *Metcalf*, lest my Uncle should return it, and thereby spoil all my Credit; and the eighth Day I was returning back to *London*, pretending I had Letters from Court, that my Affairs required me near the King. This took very well, and the Gentlemen perswaded me to go by Land; but *Metcalf* having my Bill returned, says nothing to me of it, but perswades me to go back in a Friends Ship of his that was to Sail that Night, and I was most inclined that way, and ordered all my things aboard, and went my self with my Servants down to *Sheilds* for to embark; but coming there Mr. *Metcalf* must needs have me go a board of his Ship to drink a Bowl of Punch, which I did, not in the least mistrusting any thing; but before our Punch was made he brings in a Gentleman, as I thought, who proved the Water-Bailey, and he arrested me for *Metcalf's* Monies. I was much surprized, and would not pay him there, but going a-shoar where it was another County, I paid him his Money down, and took a Boat immediately back to *Newcastle*, where I sent immediately for Mr. *Johnson*, and told him what had happened, (I thinking it best to cry Whore first, and remembering it was best to face a Storm) which I found of considerable advantage, for the Gentleman not only pitied my Misfortune, but supplied me afresh, that I might pursue my Journey to *London* by the Post, which accordingly I did that Night as far as *Durham*, where I lay, and the next Day being *Whit-Sunday*, I arrived at *York*, and what Exploits I played there I have already Published, therefore pass now on.

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Nor was the bare getting these Papers, which relate to the Book, all their design; for with them I was perswaded to deliver up a Bond and Judgment given me by Mr. Jones and his two Friends, Sir Tho. and Col. Tho. D—r, which I had from them as a Security for Mr. Jones's not leaving me a second time in the Lurch; and this I got from them in May 1701. when Mr. Jones came to London, and was continually with me at Whitehal and Westminster, and even in the Lobby of the House of Commons every Day, for about five or six Weeks together; and at that time I printed Cases and Petitions to both Houses of Parliament, desiring to be heard, and offering to forfeit my Life in case I did not produce the said Jones; and such was my blind assurance in this matter, that with my own Hands I did deliver those Petitions, Letters and Cases, to the Lords and Commons; and just before the Parliament rose (as I remember about the beginning of June) Mr. Jones had taken Lodgings at Twitnam, and upon going there one Saturday Night with Sir John Savil and another, I was sent for the next Morning to come from London to them, with all imaginable speed; and going accordingly, they informed me, That the Night before, in their way from London, they had been set upon by six Gentlemen in disguise, and that the design was laid to murder Jones, or to have taken him by force into a Boat and so have convey'd him to France. But be it as it will, thus far I must own, That Mr. Jones was wounded in his Body, and a Sword run thro' his Arm: They assured me, that had not a considerable number of Passengers been coming that way from Brentford, that either some or all of them had died, or been carried into a Boat; but upon the sight of those People these Cut-throats fled, and it was observ'd, that some of them made to the Water-side; and Mr. Jones did protest, That he had information from a Person, who kept a Correspondence with the Emissaries of France, That they had form'd a design to get him into a Boat, and to carry him thro' Bridge, where a Vessel was prepared to convey him to Calais.

Whether this were a mere Fiction, the more firmly to engage me to their purpose, I cannot say; but then I must confess, I had no doubt nor scruple of their sincerity to me; but the

consequence that followed makes me now suspect, for I was desired immediately upon this, to print a new Case, and tell the Parliament what had happened to Mr. Jones, what danger he was in, and how reasonable it was to believe he would not live, at least in *England*, to see another Sessions of Parliament; and truly, considering the bold Assertions I did print and deliver the next Day save one, with my own Hands, at the House of Lords, and also at the Door of the House of Commons, I stand amaz'd to think that I escaped being called for then, and Mr. Jones, with abundance more seem'd under a great concern that the matter was neglected.

After this it was, that I went into *Hampshire* with Mr. Jones, upon the Parliaments rising, and at a place not far from *Limington* he resided, with his Lady and Family, but went by another Name. I was here something curious to inquire into his Circumstances, and had an entire satisfaction of his having had a large Fortune with his Wife, and that he had an Estate of considerable value which his Father left him. But this Sumer being spent, my Friends at *London*, as well as in the Country, were extravagantly mad to have these Books out; nor did I want any encouragement for publishing what I writ on my own Knowledge concerning the young Gentleman; those Witnesses I had no scruple of, and as to my Assertions, my Conscience could not upbraid me. But to solve all doubts about the truth of Mr. Jones's Affidavit, the Bond and Judgment before mention'd was given me, tho' I to my shame speak it, so unadvisedly gave it back; since which I have found their usage of me all of a piece. I became a sacrifice to the Law, and that most justly, for saving them, as well as for my own immaturity; and after I had undergone the Pillory, Whipping, and all the cruel usage imaginable, these very Men, the Authors of my Misery, and who themselves ought to have been shearers with me, have try'd by every means to get me starv'd, and to render my confinement so intollerably burthensom, by procuring all the cruelty imaginable to be imposed on me, by those in whose power I am, that my Life is indeed a burthen I can hardly bear. But before they knew I writ to
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the Right Honourable the Earl of *Nottingham*, and Mr. Attorney General, and therein faithfully discovered the Truth, and Instruments of my undoing, and the Causes that induced me to dally with both Houses of Parliament; I say, before I did this, Sir *John Savil*, Mr. *Tutchin*, and the rest, came to visit me in the *Fleet*, *Bridewel*, &c. and spoke all the kind things imaginable of me, promising still to do great Things; and I confess I did believe my Fine would have been paid by them, and others I must not mention. But as soon as they had got Copies of my Letters to my Lord *Nottingham's* Secretary (to whom I also writ) and of those I sent to Mr. Attorney General, their note was changed, and their civil Language was become the most bitter Invectives; and those former kind Visits were then turned into Tumults, and the drawing of Swords upon me, as I stood working at the Hemp-block.

To conclude all, take this my hearty and unfeigned Confession, which before Almighty God, and the whole Host of Heaven, I make; and oh! that my Heart could be seen to all Mankind, especially those who have heard of my Crimes, That it might be known how sorry I am for them, and that I may do right to all, in duty I am bound to say, That after I had faithfully served the late King *William* and the Nation, in the Year 1690 and 1691, I was unhappily seduced to carry Matters too far; and by the Instigation of the Persons before mention'd, and several others. At my first appearing before the Parliament, in *Decemb.* 1691, I was over perswaded to mention several noble Lords and others in my Information, which I knew nothing of, only had it by hearsay, and from the positive Assertions of these two. I was not then above twenty Years of Age, so that the thoughts of Greatness, and such Prompters as *John Arnold*, Esq; Col. *Thomas D---* Mr. *Aaron Smith*, Mr. *Richard Thompson* at the King's Bench, Dr. *Oates*; then Mr. *John Savil*, *John Tutchin*, and several others of Quality, &c. were sufficient to set and spur me on; and now I bless God that none of their Designs did prosper.

Then as to what I writ and published concerning the pretended Prince of Wales, and of one Mrs. Mary Grey, I must own, That all my Assertions did not amount to any Proof of the Matter; but it is no Secret, nor would I have it be so, that that Affair was much improved by Mr. Richard Baldwin, John Duntun, and others Booksellers, who were zealous for the Cause, and as fond of the Gain they reap'd thereby. I had a great many Encouragers in that Matter, and was perswaded thereby to get an opportunity to regain my Reputation; which being seconded with the advantage of new Friends and daily Benefactors, (of which I stood in great need) I was led unhappily on from one Thing to another, which brings to my Mind;

Rebels, like Witches, having sign'd the
(Rolls,
Must serve their Master tho' they damn
(their Souls.

And after this Matter had lain silent for some time after the Death of Mr. Baldwin and Robin Hayhurst, and Jack Duntun was flown (they being before indefatigable in the Matter) my next Bookseller was Mrs. Elizabeth Harris, who gave me the greatest encouragement I had ever met with, and that for my plain Proof; and at that time I was in very great distress, but she kindly supplied all my wants, and had a considerable Gain by the Book. Besides these inducements already mention'd, I received daily Letters, and pretended Affidavits, from I think, almost all parts of the Kingdom, which did also stir me up in the prosecution of the Discovery; and

at the end of this Book I have inserted a true Copy of a Letter, which among the rest, I received by the Post, and carried it to the right Honourable Sir *Charles Hedges*, his Majesties principal Secretary of State; Upon the reading of it, he told me, That if I depended only upon such Proofs as those, no doubt but I should have enough of them, and that he thought the Matter not worth inquiring after; and upon Trial I found it so.

However, such was the restless Desires of my Acquaintance, that notwithstanding the King and Parliament had made a Law sufficient to debar, and for ever extinguish the hopes of all Popish Pretenders; yet to gratifie them, and my own Ambition of doing great services, I must unreasonably be meddling, and writing on that useless and unnecessary Subject.

I must not omit here, with humble and hearty Sorrow, to own, That by the former Assertions of Mr. *Richard Baldwin*, which he also published, in a Book (writ by I know not who) Intituled, *Mrs. de Labodie's Letter to her Father*, That the Earl of *Nottingham*, when Secretary of State, had several Letters committed to his charge by the Queen, which were taken in *Ireland*, and presented to her Majesty by the Lord *Bellefont*; and these Letters, as *Baldwin* said, were writ partly in Cyphers, but being explained, (some of them by Dr. *Wallis* of *Oxford*) they were found to contain a discovery of the management of the Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and this *Baldwin* affirmed to me; as also, That Mr. *De Lone*, the Queen's Secretary, told him, That her Majesty, in the King's absence, had commanded them all to be printed, but that my Lord *Nottingham* had mislaid them, and said they were lost; all this I foolishly put into my scandalous Pamphlets over and over; and being since (not many Weeks before the King's Death) with Mr. *De Lone*, in his Apartment in *Hampton Court*, he desired me to alter that Assertion, for he never said any such thing to Mr. *Baldwin*, nor could he more than this, which he believed he might tell him, That my Lord *Bellefont* did give the Queen some intercepted Letters; but that upon perusal of them, my Lord *Nottingham* and others, found

nothing of Consequence, or worthy taking notice of contained in them, and that he the said Mr. *De Lone*, did believe they were not material, and therefore flung by and lost. This I insert, and humbly beg my Lord *Nottingham's* Pardon for, as well as for all other Crimes committed against him. I heartily beseech Almighty God to pardon me all the Sins I have committed, and most humbly intreat Forgiveness of all those who, or wheresoever, they are or be, that I have in any Kind offended, or done any manner of Injury unto; and I stand resolv'd by God's especial Grace, never to be seduced or drawn in to commit the like, or any other Crimes for the future, nor to meddle with any publick concern whatever. And since I must suffer, I presume to my lives end, for my past Offences, the highest of my Petition to the Queen's most excellent Majesty is, That my Imprisonment may be changed to a Banishment in some of her Majesties Plantations, or some Protestant Country abroad, that I may there, in open Air, honestly get my Bread; and that while I am confined here, I may enjoy the benefit of the Laws of my Country, for my preservation from the merciless Abuses and Insults of inhuman Goalers; by which I have been oppress'd more than Man ever was before me, who am, only a Prisoner for a Fine and Debt.

I hope the consideration of my former Services done for the preservation of the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and the Peace and Safety of the whole Kingdom (which cannot be denied me) may in some measure plead for me; and her present Majesty's matchless Charity and Goodness, I trust may in some measure be extended to me the meanest of her Subjects. I hope likewise that those I have offended are not without Mercy; and as for such as were my Prosecutors, I think it is their Duty, and no less their Inclination to shew

shew pity, and be careful that as I have suffered the Judgment of the Law, so I may have the Benefit and Protection of it. For all which Mercies, as in Duty bound, I shall ever pray.

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POST.

Postscript.

HAVING thus shewed you the most material Transactions of my Life, I now crave leave to offer something in Defence of my self, as too many false Reflections cast on me and others, upon my account, which I hope may be a satisfaction to every impartial Reader.

First then, It may be objected, That I have not published nor exposed my many Pranks and Intrigues, by which I have cheated and abused many People in this Kingdom, and in *Holland*; to which I answer, That I have omitted nothing in that Nature which I was ever guilty of in any Place or Circumstance of my Life, but you may find it inserted in this or my other Books, Intituled, *My Life*, *My Trip to Hampshire and Flanders*. And as for the many Stories lately printed and published against me, I must needs have been ten times older than I am, and at least at five several places at once and the same time, other

otherwise it had been impossible for me to be guilty of all those Villanies so falsely laid to my charge.

I know it is likewise a common Opinion that I have been Encouraged and Supported by Presbyterians, Independants, Anabaptists, and the like.

I must own that I have, indeed, been intimately acquainted, and kindly received, by several of the Ministers and others, the chiefest of those Sectaries, but God knows, and I solemnly declare, I never had any Encouragement from them more than their bare Wishes, That God Almighty would prosper me according to the Truth and Justice of my Cause.

It may again be Objected, That Sir *John Savil*, Mr. *Prime*, *Jack Tutchin* and *Robert Murrae* are Dissenters; but all that knew Sir *John Savil* will agree with me, that he was an Atheist, a meer Humorist, and a Scoffer at all Religion. As for *Prime* he goes to Church, indeed, as he says for Fashion sake; but he is in his Principles of any Church, and of none; his Notions of Religion are as unaccountable as his Projections and Chymistry, which has undone him. *Robert Murrae* is of the Religion which his Company holds best, provided he get any thing by them; but he is a Projector, who seldom hath either Money or Religion; and *Robin* had rather sit and tell News every Sunday at the *Temple Coffee-house*, than hear the best Sermon in *England*; and as for Mr. *Tutchin*, he never had any Religion that his Acquaintance could discern, since his Sentence to be whipt in every Market Town in *Dorsetshire*, once a Year as long as he lived; and if he be Reformed; I am glad he has so well considered the Queen's Proclamation for the Reformation of Manners, and that he begins to shew a good Example. I think he and the rest of his Companions have Cause (as I have) to repent and amend. Sir *John Savil* since my last Trouble, after long sickness is dead; Mr. *Prime* is broke, and in the Mint; *Murrae* is a Begger, and *Tutchin* by his Writing, I am afraid, is under the greatest Curse of all; he wallows in his abominable Sin, and glories in his Shame; Fools are delighted with his

his Impudence and Folly, and it is a strange thing that any wise Man should have any regard to his wild, extravagant Notions. In a Word, by a fatal Experience I know him to the bottom; but it would foul my Pen to write that which he is guilty of. I pass on, and must tell you, that those greater Men, too mighty for me to name, who help'd to draw me into the printing of *Jones's* Information, for which alone I suffer, by telling me that they would justify that he made it before a Justice of the Peace on Oath; and afterwards, when I was called before the Parliament, they denied to do so, saying, they had another way to bring me off. These, some of the principal of them, have lately been marked by a Vote, and charg'd with Crimes as foul as mine.

Before I conclude I must affirm, That my Acquaintance and chiefest Friends were Persons of Worth, and of the Church of *England*. I was frequently assisted and relieved by several of the Bishops, who were very kind and civil to me. I had the favour and help of some great Men at Court, whose Fortunes, Honours and Interest with the King, plac'd them in the first Rank, and these were kind and very civil to me, upon the account of the faithful Services I had done the King and Nation, which I cannot better prove than by his Majesties Speech to the Parliament, three Days after my last coming from *France*, and a little while before he went for *Ireland*; where he tells them, That he was very well acquainted with all the Designs of his private Enemies in *England*, &c. And after my Folly that I had incurr'd, the just displeasure of the House of Commons, February 24 1691, his Grace the Duke of *Shrewsbury* in April after, gave me the following Certificate.

I Do hereby Certifie, That in Novem. 1689. Mr. Will. Fuller came to me, and did make several considerable Discoveries of the Intrigues of the Enemies of the present Government, and he was by my Incouragement sent into *France*, and at his return did perform very great Services for the preservation of their Majesties sacred Persons
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and Government ; and that it was by his endeavour that Mr. Matthew Crone was Detected and Convicted of High Treason. Given under my Hand, this 15th of April 1692.

Shrewsbury.

And thrice happy had I been if I had rested here ; but these Men saw me an easie Fool ; I had my Prince's Ear and Favour ; I had gain'd a Reputation by my former faithful Services, and they pitch'd upon me as a proper Tool for their purpose, and for almost ten Years together were working me up to my Ruin and Shame : But I have done, and humbly beg pardon of all that have been abused by my Pen, or by me in any other kind : And by my Fate may every Man have a care how he is engaged by such, hot, restless, designing Men, who delight only in troubled Waters. If I may end my Days in Solitude (tho' not in a Prison) and prepare for a blessed Eternity, is the utmost extent of all my Wishes.

Mr.

A Copy of a Letter from Yorkshire.

Mr. Fuller,

THE Testimonies you have produc'd to prove the Imposture of the Prince of Wales, have given great satisfaction, and are sufficient to convincc any but those that are unwilling to be undeceived; and even these would be silenced, if the Authenticalness of the Depositions were examin'd and approv'd by publick Authority. It is therefore hop'd, That the Parliament will not put such a slight upon this important Matter, as not to think it worth their Cognizance, especially since the French King is now at this time so pressing on the King of Portugal, and other his Allies, to own this pretended Prince as lawful King of England, and the Papists and Jacobites are so industrious in spreading abroad, in the Country, the late King James's pretended last Speech, on purpose to disaffect the Minds of the People at the Settlement of the Succession, which Settlement would be better received both at home and abroad if this were done; and if this be not done, the Papists and Jacobites will have the same reason to deny the Imposture, as others had to believe it in
King

King James's Reign, because (as the Prince of Orange says in his Declaration) the publick Authority did not sufficiently satisfy the Peoples just Suspensions about it. It is hop'd likewise that the Parliament will do you Right for the hard Censure you underwent by a former Parliament, as also themselves and the Nation Justice, upon those perfidious worthless Mercenaries, who shall be found to have received the Bribes Intimated in your Book. This would be a most acceptable piece of Service done for the Publick, and worthy the Consideration of that great Assembly. But I shall not further enlarge upon this Matter, which is so obvious to every considerative Person; being the Design of this Letter is to acquaint you, That one Christopher Pinckny, an Upholsterer, who was imploy'd to furnish Lodgings at St. James's for the Queen's pretended lying in, and did it in so much haste, that he wrought all Night (as himself declared.) This Person was also imploy'd to put King James's Goods on Board, when the Queen and Child went beyond Sea, and was intended to have gone along with them, but withdrew himself into the Country, to a place called Brignal in Yorkshire,. He died more than a Twelve-month ago; but sometime before he died, he declared in the hearing of his Sister Mrs. Mary Wacop, William Sutton, John Philips, and others, That he believed what you published concerning the Conveyance of a Child in

a Warming-pan was true, for that he at that time, when he furnished the Lodgings, was ordered to line a Warming-pan, which he did accordingly. If this be thought any material confirmation of the Evidence produced by you in this Matter, the Persons above named will give it under their Hands if you write to them, or make Oath of it before a Justice of the Peace, when called thereunto. They live at Brignal, near Greta-Bridge, Yorkshire. If you distrust the truth of what is here related, you may write into the Country as above directed and be better satisfied.

Decemb. 22. 1701.



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